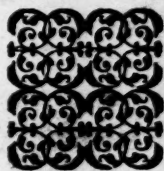


8 A
DIALOGVE
CONCERNING
VVITCHES AND
WITCHCRAFTS.

In which is layed open how craf-
tily the Diuell deceiueth not onely the
VVitches, but many other, and so lea-
deth them awrie into manie
great errors.

By GEORGE GIFFARD Minister of
Gods word in *Maldon.*



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1603.

8
A
DIALOGUE

OF A GENTLEMAN

AND

A FARMER

ON THE

STATE OF THE

REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE YEAR 1792

BY

JOHN

WILSON

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

PHILADELPHIA

AND

OF THE

STATE OF

PAENSIANIA

IN

THE

YEAR



TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MAI-

STER ROBERT CLARKE,

one of her Maiesties Barons.

of her Highnesse Court

of Eschequer.



Ertaine yeres now past, right
VVorthipfull, I published a
small Treatise concerning
VVitches, to lay open some
of Satans sleights, and sub-
till practises, least the igno-
ranter sort should be caried awry and sedu-
ced more and more by them. The errours be
farre more grosse, and the sinnes much grea-
ter, into which by meanes of VVitches he se-
duceth multitudes, then in common opinion
they be esteemed. It falleth out in many pla-
ces euen of a sudden, as it seemeth to me, and
no doubt by the heauie iudgement of God,
that the Diuels as it were let loose, do more

The Epistle.

preuaile, then euer I haue heard of. For when as men haue set so light by the hearing of Gods voice to be instructed by him, they are iustly giuen ouer to be taught by the Diuels, and to learne their wayes. Satan is now heard speake, and beleecued. He speaketh by coniurers, by forcerers, and by witches, and his word is taken. He deuifeth a number of things to be done, & they are put in practise and followed. The high prouidence of God Almightye and soueraigne rule ouer all, is set forth so vnto vs in the Scriptures, as that without him a Sparrow cannot fall to the ground. All the haire of our head are numbred. The Diuels would hurt and destroy with bodily harmes, both men and beasts and other creatures: but all the Diuels in hell are so chained vp and brideled by this high prouidence, that they cannot plucke the wing from one poore little VVrenne, without speciall leaue giuen them from the ruler of the whole earth. And yet the VVitches are made beleecue that at their request, and to pleasure them by fulfilling their wrath, their spirits do lame and kill
both

The Epistle.

both men and beasts. And then to spread this opinion among the people, these subtrill spirits bewray them, and will haue them openly cōfesse that they haue done such great things, which al the Diuels at any mans request could neuer do. For if they could, they would not stay to be intreated. God giueth him power sometimes to afflict both men and beasts with bodily harmes : If he can, he will do it as intreated and sent by VVitches, but for vs to imagine either that their sending doth giue him power, or that he would not doe that which God hath giuen him leaue to do, vnlesse they should request & send him, is most absurd. There be many diseases in the bodies of men and beasts which he seeth will breake forth vnto lameness or vnto death, he beareth the VVitches in hand he doth them. He worketh by his other sort of VVitches, whom the people call cunning men and wise women to confirme all his matters, and by them teacheth many remedies, that so he may be sought vnto and honoured as God. These things taking roote in the harts of the people,

The Epistle.

and so making them afraid of VVitches, and raising vp suspitions and rumors of sundry innocent persons, many gitleffe are vpon mens othes condēned to death, and much innocent bloud is shed. How subtilly he cōtriueth these matters, I haue to my small skill laid open in this slender Treatise. I haue done it in way of a Dialogue, to make the fitter for the capacity of the simpler sort. I am bold to offer it vnto your VVorship, not vnto one as needeth to be taught in these things, being zealously affected to the Gospell, and so grounded in the faith of the high prouidence, that I haue bene delighted to heare and see the wise and godly course vsed vpon the seate of lustice by your VVorship, when such haue bene arraigned. I offer it therfore as a testimonie of a thankfull mind for fauors and kindnes shewed towards me: and so intreat your VVorship to accept of it. If it may do good vnto any of the weaker sort in knowledge I shall be glad. If I erre in any thing, being shewed it, I will be ready to correct it.

*Your Worships in all duties to com-
maund,* George Giffard.

THE



THE SPEAKERS.

Samuel. Daniel. The wife of Samuel. M. B. Schoole-
maister. The goodwife R.

Sam.



Du are wel met old acquaint-
tance, I am glad to see you
looke so well: how do all our
god friends in your country?

Dan.

I trust they be all in good
health: they were when I
came from home, I am soze to
see you looke so pale: what
haue you bene sicke lately?

Sam. Truly no, I thanke God I haue had my health
pretily well, but yet me thinke my meate doth me no good
of late.

Dan. What is the matter man, do you take thought
and care for the world? take hede of that, for the Scrip-
ture saith, worldly sorow worketh death. 2. Cor. 7. 10.
It is a great sinne rising from vnbelaefe, and distrust in
Gods p:ouidence, when men be ouer pensue for y world.

Sam. Indede my mind is troubled, but not for that
which you say, for I hope in God I shall not want so long
as I liue.

Dan. Is it any trouble of conscience for sinne? If it be,
that may turne to good.

Sam. No, no. I know no cause why.

Dan. Why, what is it then, if I may be so bold, I pray
you tell me. I thinke you take me for your friend.

Sam. Indede I haue alwayes found you my verie
good friend, and I am sure you will giue me the best coun-
sell you can: truly we dwell here in a bad countrey, I

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thinke euen one of the worst in England.

Dan. Is it so? I thinke you dwell in a fine countrey, in a swete wholesome aire, and fruitfull grounds.

Sam. Aire man? I find no fault with the aire, there be naughtie people.

Dan. Paughtie people? where shall a man dwell, and not find them? swearers, liers, railers, slanderers, drunkards, adulterers, riotous, vnthrifts, dicers, and proud high minded persons, are euery where to be found in great plentie.

Sam. Nay, I do not meane them, I care not for them. These witches, these euill fauoured old witches do trouble me.

Dan. What, do you take your selfe to be bewitched?

Sam. No, no, I trust no euill spirit can hurt me, but I heare of much harme done by them: they lame men and kil their cattel, yea they destroy both men and children. They say there is scarce any towne or village in all this shire, but there is one or two witches at the least in it. In good sooth, I may tell it to you as to my friend, when I go but into my closes, I am afraid, for I see now and then a Ware; which my conscience giueth me is a witch, or some witches spirit, she stareth so vpon me. And sometime I see an ugly Weasill runne through my yard, and there is a foule great Cat sometimes in my barne, which I haue no liking vnto.

Dan. You neuer had no hurt done yet, had you by any witch?

Sam. Trust me I cannot tell, but I feare me I haue, for there be two or thre in our town which I like not, but especially an old woman, I haue bene as carefull to please her as euer I was to please mine owne mother, and to giue her euer and anon one thing or other, and yet me thinkes she frownes at me now and then. And I had a hog which ate his meate with his fellows, and was very well to our thinking

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thinking ouer night, and in the morning he was starke dead. My wife hath had five or six hens euen of late dead. Some of my neighbours with me to burne something alieue as a hen or a hog. Others will me in time to seeke help at the hands of some cunning man, befoze I haue any further harme. I would be glad to do for the best.

Dan. Haue you any cunning man thereabout, that doth helpe?

Sam. There is one, they say, here a twentie miles off at T. B. which hath holpe many. And thus much I know, there was one of mine acquaintance but two miles hence, which had great losses, he lost two or three kine, sixe hogs, he would not haue toke fiftene shillings a hog for them, and a mare. He went to that same man, and told him he suspected an old woman in the parish. And I thinke he told me, that he shewed him her in a Glasse, and told him she had three or foure impes, some call them puckerels, one like a grey cat, another like a weasel, another like a mouse, a vengeance take them, it is great pitie the countrey is not rid of them, and told him also what he should do: it is half a yeare ago, and he neuer had any hurt since. There is also a woman at R. H. five and twentie miles hence, that hath a great name, and great resort there is daily vnto her. A neighbour of mine had his child taken lame, a girle of ten yeares old, and such a paine in her backe, that she could not sit vp right. He went to that woman, she told him that he had some bad neighbour, the child was forespoken, as she suspected; marie if he would go home, and bring her some of the clothes which the child lay in all night, she would tell him certainly. He went home, and put a table napkin about her necke all night, and in the morning toke it with him, and she told him the girle was bewitched indeed, and so told him what he should do, and he had remedie: the girle is well at this day and a pretie quicke girle. There was another of my neighbours had his wife much

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troubled, and he went to her, and she told him, his wife was haunted with a fairie. I cannot tell what she bad him do, but the woman is merrie at this houre. I haue heard, I dare not say it is so, that she weareth about her S. Iohns Gospell, or some part of it.

Dan. If you haue such cunning men and women, what need you be so much afraid?

Sam. Alas man, I could tēme it to go, and some counsell me to go to the man at T.B. and some to the woman at R. H. And betwēne them both I haue lingred the time, and feare I may be spoiled befoze I get remedie. Some wish me to beate and claw the witch vntill I fetch bloud on her, and to thzeaten her that I will haue her hanged: if I knew which were the best I would do it.

Dan. I perceiue your danger is betwēne two skoles.

Sam. It is very true, if I had heard but of one, I should haue gone ere this time, and I am glad that I met with you. I pray you let me haue your best counsell, I trust you beare me good will.

Dan. Truly I will giue you the best counsell I can, which I am sure shall do you good, if you will follow it, for indeed I pittie your case, it is most certaine you are bewitched.

Sam. Bewitched, do you thinke I am bewitched? I feele no harne in my bodie, you make me more afraid.

Dan. Nay, I do not thinke that the old woman hath bewitched you, or that your body is bewitched, but the diuell hath bewitched your mind, with blindness and unbelasse, to draw you from God, euen to worshop himsele, by seeking help at the hands of diuels. It is a lamentable case to see how the diuel hath bewitched thousands at this day to runne after him: and euen to offer sacrifice vnto him.

Sam. I desie the diuell: worshop him: sie vpon him, I hate him with all my heart. Do you thinke any seeke help at his hands: we seeke help against him. I thinke he neuer doth

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doth good: he hurteth, but he neuer helpeth any.

Dan. It is not in these matters to be taken as we imagine, but as the word of God teacheth. What though a man thinke he worshippingeth not diuels, nor seeketh not help at their hands, as he is perswaded, nor hath any such intent, is he euer the nere, when as yet it shall be found by Gods word, that he doth worship them, and seke vnto them for helpe?

Sam. Do you thinke then that there be no witches? Doth not God suffer wicked people to do harme? Or do you thinke that the cunning men do helpe by the diuell? I would be glad to reason with you, but I haue small knowledge in the Scriptures. We haue a Scholemaister that is a good pretie scholler (they say) in the Latine tongue, one M. B. he is gone to my house euen now, I pray you let me intreate you to go thither, you two may reason the matter, for you are learned.

Dan. I could be content, but it will aske some time, and I am going to such a place vpon speciall businesse.

Sam. I pray you let me intreate you: foure or fīue houres is not so much.

Dan. Well, I will go with you.

Sam. Wife, I haue brought an old friend of mine, I pray thee bid him welcome.

The wife. He is verie welcome. But truly man, I am angrie with you, and halfe out of patience, that you go not to seke helpe against yonder same old beast, I haue another len dead this night. Other men can seke remedie. Here is M. B. tels me, that the good wife R. all the last weeke could not make her butter come. She neuer rested vntill she had got her husband out to the woman at R. H. and when he came home, they did but heate a spit red hot, and thrust into the creame, vsing certaine words, as she willed him, and it came as kindly as any butter that euer she made. I met the old filth this morning, Lord, how

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soberly she looked vpon me, and mumbled as she went, I heard part of her words. Ah (quoth she) you haue an honest man to your husband, I heare how he doth vse me. In truth, husband, my stomacke did so rise against her, that I could haue found in my heart to haue strowne vpon her, and scratched her, but that I feared she would be too strong for me. It is a lustie old queane. I wished that the good wife R. had bene with me. I pray you, good husband, let me intreate you to go to that same good woman: you may ride thither in halfe a day.

Sam. Wife, I pray thee be content, I haue intreated this mine old friend to reason with S. B. for he tels me that we be in a verie soule errour.

M. B. I suppose, so farre as my learning and capacitie do extend, that small reasoning may serue. The word of God doth shew plainly that there be witches, and commaundeth they should be put to death. Experience hath taught too too many what harmes they do. And if any haue the gift to minister help against them, shall we refuse it? Shall we not drinke when we are athirst? Shall we not warme vs when we are a cold? It is pitie that anie man should open his mouth any way to defend them, their impietie is so great.

Dan. For my part, I go not about to defend witches. I denie not but that the diuell worketh by them. And that they ought to be put to death. We ought also to seeke remedy against them: but as I told my friend, the diuel doth bewitch men by meanes of these witches, and leade them from God, euen to follow himsele, to offer sacrifice vnto him, to worship him, to obey his will, to commit many grievous sinnes, and be drowned in manifold errours.

M. B. If you haue this meaning, that witches and sorcerers are bewitched by the diuell, that they forsake God, and follow him, that they worship and obey him, and do sacrifice vnto him, and commit many hainous sins, I agree with
with

witches and witchcrafts.

with you, for I take it, they euen bow themselves to the diuell, or else he would not be so ready to do them service. But if you meane that such as seeke remedy against them, and would haue them rooted out, be so seduced and misled by the diuell, as you speake, I say your speech is rash and foolish, for they that be earnest against witches, be earnest against the diuell, they desie the diuell, they seeke to resist him, and to roote out his instruments. Now, if you were a man that had any learning, you should see, that contraries cannot be in the same subiect, at one instant, in the same part, and in the same respect: how then can a man hate the diuell, desie the diuell and his workes, and yet follow him at one time?

Dan. I know that witches and coniurers are seduced and become the vassals of Satan: they be his seruants, and not he theirs, as you speak. But I meane indeed that multitudes are seduced and led from God to follow the diuell, by meanes of witches & coniurers: yea, I speake it of those, not which are caried of a godly zeale, but of a blind rage and mad furie against them. If I speake this rashly and foolishly, as you say, and your self learned as you boast, and I vnlearned, I shall be the more easily ouerthrowne. But I speake so truly, and can so well iustifie all that I haue said by the word of God, that your learning and best skill, shall not be able to disproue the same. Your logicke at the first doth faile you. Not that contraries can be in the same subiect at the same instant, in the same part, and in the same respect. But herein you are utterly blind and deceived, that you name contraries, and take it that the first of them, as namely, to hate the diuell, to desie him and his workes, are in them, when as indeed they are in them but in imagination. For if men say and think they desie the diuell and his workes, and through blindness and infidelitie, are euen bewitched, and seduced to follow the diuell, and to do his will, doth their speech and blind imagination

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make the things indeed to be in them: What if a poore begger woman say and thinke that she is a Quene: is she therefore no begger, begging still her bread: or is she rid of her lice?

M. B. Say, if you iudge, I haue done. If men be earnest against the diuell, and desie him and all his workes, are you to iudge of their conscience, and to say they desie him but in imagination, and follow him, and worship him indeed: is not God alone the Iudge ouer mens hearts? Again, do you compare those that are in their right mind, with such as be mad, or out of their wits?

Dan. I know that God alone is the searcher of the heart, touching the things which lie hid in secret: but where things are open and manifest, the tree is knowne by the fruites, so farre we may go. As if a man professe the faith of Iesus Christ soundly, in all points according to the word of God, and doth frame his life thereafter in doing good workes: it is very wicked for any man to iudge of him, that he is an hypocrite, and that he doth all of vaine-glorie. And yet it may be that the Lord, who discerneth the secret intents of the heart, seeth indeed that he is but an hypocrite. On the contrarie part, where a man professeth in words that he doth desie the diuell and all his workes, and yet when it cometh to the triall of Gods word, he is found to be seduced, and wrapped in blind errors of the diuell, in infidelitie, and euill workes, in which he fulfilleth the will of Satan, and honoureth him in the place of God: shall we say that this is a good man because of his words and imaginations, that he desieth the diuell and his workes? Woe be to them that call good euill, and euill good. *E/c. 5.* We may say they are in bad case, except they repent, and turne from following Satan. But yet I say, that a faithfull man may erre in some of these things through weakenesse of faith, and through ignorance. And therefore, here men may not be too rash in iudgement. And
now

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now whereas you find fault, that I make comparison betwene such as be mad & those that be in their right mind: it is your ignorance, which do not consider that there be two kinds of madness, or being out of their right mind, the one for matters of this world, the other for things spiritual and heavenly. There be which are in their wits for this world, which touching spiritual things are as farre awzie in their imaginations, as the poore beggar, which thinketh she is a goodly quene. Doth not the holy Apostle say, that because men receiue not the loue of the truth, God will send them strong delusion to beleue lies. *2. Thess. 2.* And what is that, but that Satan shall seduce, illude, and bewitch their minds, to make them beleue that they worship and follow God, when they worship and follow him?

M. B. Do you take that to be S. Pauls meaning? Doth Satan bewitch mens minds, and leade them into falshood and errour, making them beleue they worship God, when they worship diuels?

Dan. S. Paul speaketh there indeed of the comming of the great Antichrist in the power of the Diuell. Now, those which are seduced and worship Antichrist, thinke they worship God: but marke what S. Iohn saith, All the world wondred, and followed the Beast, and worshipped the Dragon which gaue power to the Beast: and they worshipped the Beast. *Reuelat. 12.* And loke in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation, and you shall find that the Dragon, which the Poperie doth worship in stead of God, is the Diuell.

M. B. Truly I like your words well, I am persuaded the diuell doth seduce and bewitch mens minds: But touching those that seek help at the hands of cunning men and women against witches, I cannot thinke so hardly of them. I may be awzie, I see well: I will not be obstinate, if the word of God shew me mine errour. Let vs euen friendly conferre of the matter. Be not offended with me,

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and so; my part, I will speake all that I know or thinke.

Dan. I must intreate you likewise to beare with my plaine speeches. And let vs in the matters proceede from one point to another, standing onely vpon that, wherein we shall be found to differ in iudgement: and let Gods word be the iudge betweene vs.

Sam. I like this well, though I can say but litle, I will sit and heare you.

Dan. What is the first question that we shall handle?

M.B. I heard you say, if I did not mislake your speech that there be witches that worke by the diuell. But yet I pray you tel me, do you thinke there be such: I know some are of opinion there be none.

Dan. It is so euident by the Scriptures, and in all experience, that there be witches which worke by the diuell, or rather I may say, the diuell worketh by them, that such as go about to proue the contrarie, do shew themselves but cauillers.

M.B. I am glad we agree in that point, I hope we shall in the rest. What say you to this: that the witches haue their spirits, some hath one, some hath more, as two, three, foure, or fve, some in one likenesse, and some in another, as like cats, weasils, toades, or mice, whom they nourish with milke, or with a chicken, or by letting them suck now and then a drop of bloud: whom they call when they be offended with any, and send them to hurt them in their bodies; yea, to kill them, and to kill their cattell?

Dan. Here is great deceit, and great illusion, here the diuell leadeeth the ignozant people into foule errors, by which he draweth them headlong into many grievous sinnes.

M.B. Say then I see you are awzie, if you denie these things, and say they be but illusions. They haue bene proued, and proued againe, euen by the manifold confessions of the witches themselves. I am out of all doubt in these,
and

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and could in many particulars lay open what hath fallen out. I did dwell in a village within these fūe yeares, where there was a man of good wealth, and sodainly within ten dayes space, he had thre kine died, his gelding worth ten pounds sel lame, he was himself taken with a great paine in his back, & a child of seuen yeres old died. He sent to the woman at R. H. & she said he was plagued by a witch, adding mozeouer, that there were thre women witches in that town, and one man witch: willing him to look whom he most suspected: he suspected one old woman, and caused her to be caried befoze a Justice of Peace and examined: with much ado at the last she confessed all: which was this in effect: that she had thre spirits: one like a cat, which she called Lightfoot, another like a toade, which she called Lunch, the third like a Measill, which she called Make-shift. This Lightfoote, she said, one mother Barlie of W. sold her about sixtene yeares ago, for an ouen cake, and told her the Cat would do her good seruice, if she would, she might send her of her errand: this Cat was with her but a while, but the Measill and the Toade came and offered their seruice: The Cat would kill kine, the Measill would kill horses, the Toade would plague men in their bodies. She sent them all thre (as she confessed) against this man: She was committed to the prison, and there she died befoze the Assises. I could tell you of many such: I had no mind to dwell in that place any longer.

Dan. You mistake me, I do not meane that the things are not, but my meaning is, that the diuell by such things doth beguile and seduce ignorant men, and lead them into errors and grievous sinnes. And let vs examine every parcell of that which you set downe in your speech, and you shall see no lesse.

M.B. What is it which I would faine see: You confesse they haue spirits, some one, some moze, and in such likenesses: what errorr be the people led into by that?

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Dan. First consider this, that there be multitudes and armies of diuels, as we see in the gospel, that many diuels were entred into one man, and Christ saying, What is thy name? answer is made, Legion, for we are many. *Marke. 5.* Now, although the diuels be many, yet they be all caried with such hatred against God, with such desire to haue him dishonored and blasphemed, and burne with such bloudie malice and crueltie against men, that they bend their study al together, one helping and furthering another what they can in their worke: insomuch that the Scripture doth speake of them, as if they were but one diuell: for S. Peter saith, Your aduerarie the Diuell goeth about like a roaring Lion seeking whom he may deuoure. *1. Pet. 5.* And in the Revelation Chapter 12. all the diuels make that great red Dragon: and our Saniour doth shew how close they ioyne in one, when he saith, If Satan be deuided against Satan, or if Satan cast foorth Satan, how shall his kingdome endure? *Matth. 12.* Now then, whether the witch deale, as she supposeth, with one spirit, or with many, it commeth all to one effect, thus farre, that one dealeth not alone, but with the help of others. So that he or she that hath familiaritie with one diuel, it is as much as if it were with an hundred. Moreover, the diuels be spirits, they haue no bodily shape or likenesse, but yet can make an apparance of a shape, as appeareth by the inchaunters befoze Pharao, when their rods were turned into serpents in shew. *Exod. 7.* And then one diuel can seeme to be foure or fise, and foure or fise can seeme to be one: it is therefore but the craft of Satan, to make shew of more or lesse.

M. B. Do you not thinke then, that where the more diuels be, there is the greater power of Satan?

Dan. Yes, but it cannot be discerned, be his appearing to the witch in shew of more or lesse: for one can seeme ten vnto her, and ten can seeme one.

M. B. Well, I do not mislike all this, I pray you
proceede

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proceede forward.

Dan. When further marke well how the holy Scriptures do paint out the diuels to be mightie terrible spirits, full of power, rage, and crueltie, compared to a great fierie red Dragon, Reuel. 12. to a greedie or hungrie Lion, that roareth after the prey. 1. Pet. 5. And called by S. Paul Principallities, and Powers, the Rulers of the darknesse of this world: now, when they take vpon them the shapes of such paltrie vermin, as Cats, Hise, Toades, and Weasils, it is euen of subtiltie to couer and hide his mightie tyrannie and power, which he exerciseth ouer the hearts of the wicked. It is most necessarie for vs all to know, what strong aduersaries we haue to encounter withall, that we may flie vnto the Lord God, and seek to be armed with his power against them.

M. B. Well, what will you inferre vpon this? I can not denie but that the Scriptures do paint out the diuels to be mightie terrible spirits, and so they may be, although they appeare but like Cats or Weasils.

Dan. I do not say they be not mightie and terrible, because they appeare in such shapes: but I affirme, that their appearing so, is to couer and hide their mightinesse and effectuall working, which they exercise in the darke hearts of men. And marke well I pray you, the power of diuels is in the hearts of men; as to harden the heart, to blind the eyes of the mind, and from the lustes and concupiscences which are in them, to inflame them vnto wrath, malice, enuie, and cruell murthers: to puffe them vp in pride, arrogance, and vaine glorie: to intice them vnto wantonnesse and whoredomes, and all uncleannesse. And about these things they work continually, and with such efficacy, that without the power of the glorious passion and resurrection of our Lord Iesus Christ, which we haue by faith, they cannot be withstood, and they will same to be but meane fellows, busied about making drinke that it shal not work

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in the fat, in keeping chafe from running, and butter from comming, in killing hens or hogs, or making men lame.

M. B. May they not do both the one and the other?

Dan. Yea, but this is my meaning, that while they be occupied about the greatest things, as in stirring by tyrants and wicked men to persecute, to reproch and blaspheme the Gospell, which pulleth them downe, to set diuision and wars betwene kingdoms and kings, hatred and discorde betwene man and wife, and contention betwene brethren: yea, to set all in a boile and confusion: they would seme to be busied about trifles, and about these they busie mens minds, that they may not obserue and take heed of them in those other.

M. B. I perceiue your meaning, but yet I do not conceiue whereunto you chiefly tend: for do not they which looke vpon these harmes done by witches, confesse that the diuell doth all those things which you mention?

Dan. The ignorant sort, which are so terrified by witches, do in words after a sort. confesse so much as you say, but when it commeth to the matter, they denie it in effect. For marke this, the diuels continually compasse the soule of man about, to shote it full of their fierie darts. *Ephes. 6.* euen to wound it to death with all wicked sinnes. The diuell goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may deuoure. *1. Pet. 5.* And they by this craft which they vse by meanes of the witches, make the blind people imagine that they neuer come nigh them, but when the witches are angrie and do send them, and that they are easily driuen away when they do come, as by burning some quick thing, as hen, or hog, or by beating and drawing blood vpon the witch. Such people as can thus driue him away, or by thrusting a spit red hote into their creame, are farre from knowing the spirituall battell, in which we are to warre vnder the banner of Christ against the diuell, much lesse do they know how to put on (as S. Paul willeth) the whole
armour

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armour of God, to resist and overcome him. *Ephes. 6.* We may deale with their soules euen as he listeth, when they take him not present but vpon such sending, and where such hurt doth follow in their bodies or goods.

M. B. I do not denie, but that the diuels seek chiefly for to destroy the soules of men: but (as I take it) you confesse, that they being sent by the witches, do also those bodily harmes: and as yet I see no reason why they may not seek remedy against such harmes, and driue him away by any good meanes: doth the word of God forbid vs to vse meanes: if I be sicke, shall I not take phisicke: if I be thirstie, shall I not drinke: And indeed I am of your mind, though I did not know so much before, that the diuell dealeth subtilly in this, that by dealing in such small matters, he couereth himself in the greater, as though he came not nere; nor did not meddle but in such manner: but here standeth the case, I resist him in those greater, may I not also vse those helpes which driue him away in the lesser: I will if I can driue him away in all things.

Dan. How the diuels are sent by the witches, and how they do those bodily harmes, we are not yet come vnto, and there lie two of the chiefest subtilties of the diuell in them, by which he deceiueth the multitude. But by occasion we are fallen into the mention of remedy to driue them away. Because (I say) such as thus driue him away, know not the spiritual battel, much lesse how to put on the whole armour of God to overcome the diuell: order doth require that we speake first of his sending, and then of those bodily harmes which he doth, and afterward of these meanes which are vsed to repell him. Let vs therefore step one step backe againe, if you agree to the rest which I haue spoken.

M. B. With a good will: for so we shall omit no part. But I thought we had fully agreed in this, that the witches do send their spirits, and do many harmes both vnto

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men and beasts: because we haue it confirmed by daily experience: and vnl:ke you will denie that which is manifest, I doubt not but we shall accoꝝd in these.

Dan. I say the witches do send their spirits.

M. B. What shall we neede then to stand vpon that point in which we are agreed?

Dan. Yes, though we agræ that they send them, yet we may dissent in diuers things about this sending. As first, tell me, whether do you thinke that the witch or the diuell is the seruant, which of them commaundeth, and which obeyeth?

M. B. How can I tell that? It is thought he becometh her seruant, and where she is displeased and would be reuenged, she hireth him for to do it. The witches themselves haue confessed thus much: and for my part, I thinke no man can disproue it.

Dan. They that do the will of God, are the children and seruants of God. And they which fulfill the lustes of the diuell, and obey him, are his children and his seruants, Iohn 8. verse 44. Acts 13. verse 10. are they not?

M. B. I graunt all this.

Dan. The Diuels are the rulers of the darkenesse of this world. Ephes. 6. verse 12.

M. B. The text is plaine.

Dan. The darknesse of this world, is not meant of the darknes of the night, which is but the shadow of the earth, but it is the spirituall darknesse, which consisteth in the ignorance of God, in infidelitie, and in sinne.

M. B. I am of your mind in this also.

Dan. And do you not thinke then that the diuell hath his throne, his dominion and kingdome in the hearts of ignorant blind infidels?

M. B. I must needes thinke he hath, the word of God doth force me thereunto: seeing he is the Prince of darknesse.

Dan. And

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Dan. And is there any greater infidelitie and darknesse in any, then in witches, coniurers, and such as haue familiaritie with diuels?

M. B. I take it they be the deepest ouerwhelmed in darknesse and infidelitie of all other.

Dan. Lay all these things together which you confesse, and see whether it doth not follow vpon the same, that the witch is the vassall of the diuell, and not he her seruant; he is Lord and commaundeth, and she is his drudge and obeyeth.

M. B. Yea, although he be Lord, yet he is content to serue her turne, and the witches confesse, they call them forth and send them: and that they hire them to hurt such in their bodies, and in their cattell, as they be displeased withall.

Dan. I am sozie you are so farre awozie: it is pitie any man should be in such errour, especially a man that hath learning, and should teach others knowledge.

M. B. Nay, I may returne this vpon you, for if you will denie this, it is but a folly to reason any further: I will neuer be driuen from that which I know: there was one old mother W. of great T. which had a spirit like a Weasill: she was offended highly with one H. M: home she went, and called forth her spirit, which lay in a pot of wooll vnder her bed, she willed him to go plague the man: he required what she would giue him, and he would kill H. M. She said she would giue him a cocke, which she did, and he went, and the man fell sicke with a great paine in his belly, languished and died: the witch was arraigned, condemned, and hanged, and did confesse all this.

Dan. I told you before that I do not deny these things, but you are deceiued about the doing: you marke not the running sleights of the diuell: tell me, is not this the truth which S. Peter speaketh, that the Diuell goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may deuoure. 1. Pet. 5.

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M. B. What then?

Dan. What then? can you be so simple as to imagine that the diuell lieth in a pot of wooll, soft and warme, and stirreth not, but when he is hired and sent? The diuels conspire together in their worke, they bestirre them, and neuer take rest night nor day: they are neuer wearie, they be not a cold, they care not for lying soft: these be fooleries, by which he deceiueth the witches, and bewitcheth the minds of many ignorant people: and whereas you say he is hired, it is but deceit: for, let me aske you two or three questions more if neede be.

M. B. What be your questions?

Dan. You say the witch commeth home angrie, who hath kindled this wrath in her heart but the diuell? Who inflameth her mind with malice, to be reuenged, and to do mischief but the diuell? doth not he rule in her heart? Tell me what you thinke of this.

M. B. I must needs confesse he stirreth her vp to wrath and malice.

Dan. Then he lieth not at home in his pot of wooll: nor he is not hired to this: hitherto he is his drudge, and obeyeth him, and not he her, being led by his suggestion. Then tell me, is not the diuell like a red or fierie Dragon, Reuelat. 12. burning in malice against God, and with all bloudie and cruell hatred that may be against men? And is he not farre readier vnto all mischief, then any man or woman?

M. B. The Diuell is more fierce then any man or woman; none can denie this.

Dan. If none can denie this, and he be the worker of the wrath and malice in the heart of the witch; then what needeth he to be hired? he stirreth her vp, and if he would, he could turne her mind from sending him, and must he be hired? doth he care for a cocke or a chicken? is he hungrie, or needeth he somewhat to eat?

M. B. Say,

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M. B. *Pay, but it is thought he taketh those things to witnesse against the witch that she is his.*

Dan. *Let it be, there were somewhat in that which you speake, yet he hath a farre deeper reach, for the truth is, he would, and doth perswade the blind people, that he medleth litle, but when he is euen hired and sent, and that then his medling is but in such matters: and hereupon all is on a broyle against old women, which can any wayes be suspected to be witches, as if they were the very plagues of the world, and as if all would be well, and safe from such harmes, if they were rooted out, and thus they fall a rooting out without all care: for it is thought that the witch which hath her spirits, is euen like a man which hath curst dogges, which he may set vpon other mens cattell, which yet in the nature of dogs, would neuer stir but when they are bidden: and so the harmes do come from the man which oweth those dogs. They thinke that the country might be rid of such spirits, if there were none to hoister them, or to set them a work. They imagine that they and their cattel should then go safe. Alas pooze creatures, how they be deluded! how litle do they vnderstand the high prouidence of almighty God which is ouer all?*

M. B. *Do you thinke then that witches ought not to be rooted out? or do you thinke it were not much safetie to the country from harmes, if it could be rid of them?*

Dan. *For the rooting out of witches, the Scripture is plaine: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to liue: but we are not yet come to that point. But whether they be to be rooted out that men may be safe from harmes, as the people in furie and blindness imagine, that is next.*

M. B. *Ben seele the smart and the harmes which they do, and it is no maruell, though they be earnest to haue them rooted out, and a good riddance it were if the whole land could be set free from them.*

Sa. Truly M. B. I am of your mind, I would they were

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all hanged vp one against another: we should not (I hope) stand in such feare of their spirits. But I interrupt you too.

The wife. They that would not haue them hanged or burnt, I would they might euen witch them vnto hell. If I had but one fagot in the world, I would carie it a mile vpon my shoulders to burne a witch.

Dan. Well good woman, spare your fagot awhile, and ease your shoulders, and let vs reason the matter a litle further. I pray you let me aske you this question, Doth the witch or the diuell the harme vnto men and cattell?

M. B. Why, the diuell doth it at their sending, though I confesse it must needes be as you said, that the diuell worketh all in the mind of the witch, and moueth her to send him.

Dan. The diuell hath a kingdome, but it is in darkenesse and corruption of sinne. He hath no right nor power ouer Gods creatures, no not so much as to kill one flie, or to take one eare of corne out of any mans barne, vnlesse power be giuen him. You know when Christ cast the diuels out of the man possessed, they aske leaue for to go into the heard of swine. Then tell me, who giueth the diuell this power then, when the witch sendeth him, to kill or to lame man or beast: doth the witch giue it him? Do you thinke he had power to do harme, but no mind till she moued him? Or do you take it that her sending giueth him power, which he had not?

M. B. It is a question indeed worth the asking: For doubtlesse, the diuell hath not power vntill it be giuen him, to touch any creature, to hurt or to destroy the body, but only to tempt and to lead into sin: I am also sure that the witch cannot giue him power, but only God aboue.

Dan. Lay these two together then, that the diuell onely hurteth, & that none can giue him power, neither man nor woman, but only God, and tel me whether the people be not wonderfully caried awry in a rage. For, when as they

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they should consider, that the diuell is the Lords executioner: and then finding that he hath any power giuen him to molest, to hurt and bere them in their bodies or goods, to know certainly it cometh from the Lord, and then gather from thence as the truth is) that the Lord is displeased with them for their offences, and so sake vnto him, humbly crauing pardon and deliuerance from this enemy saking to be armed with the mighty power of faith, to cast him forth, and to resist him, as the Lord willet, 1. Pet. 5: here is no such matter, no looking so high among the people, but running deeper into error, and into sinne, as if the witches did it, and that it cometh from their anger, and not from their owne sinnes and infidelity. There is no repentance, no humbling themselues by fasting and prayer, but running for helpe vnto diuels, vsing meanes which those diuels by the cunning men and women appoint, scratching and clawing, thirsting often after guiltlesse blood, as raging against those whom they imagine to be witches, which many times are not, because they imagin, that if there were no witches, there should be no such plagues. As if they had no foule sins nor vnbelæse, or that there remained not a iust reueging God to punish, or as if he had not the diuels still the executioners of his wrath.

M.B. Truly your words do make me affraid: for I am euē guiltie of those things my selfe, if they be so grievous, as you set them out: and by Gods grace I wil consider better of the matter: for I haue counselled many to sake vnto those cunning folks, & to vse such helps as they prescribe: and you say, it is to sake helpe at diuels. To see that point we shal come anone: now I would be resoluēd about somewhat in your last speech: as namely Do you cleare the witches, because God, and not they, giueth the diuel power, and do you thinke that the diuels should kill men and their cattell, if they were not sent by witches? Should the harmes still follow, if there were no witches?

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Dan. That I say God alone, and not the witches, giueth power vnto the diuels to plague and torment: it is so euident as that I suppose a man shall hardly meete with any man so grosse but will confesse it. But this doth not cleare the witches at all; for their sinne is in dealing with diuels, and that they imagine that their Spirits do those harmes, requested and hired by them: when as indeed the diuel, where he hath power giuen him to hurt, or where he knoweth death or grieuous diseases will follow either in man or beast, setteth the witch in a rage, & moueth her to send him. Concerning your other question, I say, we shall find by the Scriptures, that if there were no witches at all, yet men should be plagued by the diuels in their bodies and goods. For touching the godly, the Lord doth vse Satan to afflict them in their bodies and in their goods, for to trie their faith and patience: as the example of holie Job doth testifie in ample manner. It were vile folly and brutish to affirme, that witches did set on the diuels to kill his children, and to plague his body. And I hold it no small folly, for any man to thinke that the Lord doth not now scourge his children, at the least some of them, for their good, by the diuel. There is no doubt, but the diuel hauing power giuen him to afflict, useth all the craft he can, and will seeke to be sent by the witch, and so he will make it knowne, because it may seeme to be not from God, but from the anger of a poore woman. And now touching the wicked, which prouoke God by their wicked sinnes and vbeliefe, may we not read in the Scriptures that an euil spirit was sent of God vnto king Saul, which did haunt and bere him? Was this spirit sent by a witch? Or the diuels in the Gospell, which entred into the heard of swine and drowned them: did the Lord giue them power, and send them. and shall we be so sottish as to thinke, that he sendeth not the diuel now against vngodly men, to plague and to destroy them? As I said before, here is the dape craft

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craft of **Sathan**, that he will couet to be sent by **Witches**, whereas indeed **God** hath set him, seeing none can send him but **God**. Again, we must consider that there be naturall causes in the bodies of men and beasts of grievous torments and diseases, yea euen causes of death. Now, they cannot be so secret, but the diuell knoweth them, and euen when they are like to take effect. Then doth he ply it with the witch, setteth her in a fury, she sendeth him, euen vpon this sending the man or the beast suddenly and strangely are tormented, fall lame, or dye. Then the witch is suspected, examined, and confesseth that she killed such a man, or such a mans cattell, or made them lame. Were the people are set in a wonderfull maze and astonishment, as if witches could plague men in their wrath, by sending their spirits, because they confesse they did it, when their spirits do lye and had no power, but the torments came by naturall causes. And to driue the people into a deeper madnesse in this, and to make them beloue, that strange and sudden torments and languishing diseases come by witches, he hath his other sort of witches, the cunning men and women. which tell euen vpon his word, which you know is to be trusted, that they be bewitched, that they be haunted with faeries, and that there be thus many witches thereabout, in euery towne some.

M.B. That is most true no doubt, which you speake, I do not for my part know how to gaine say any one point thereof. Only I wonder at the craftinesse of the diuels in these things, that where they haue power graunted vnto them to hurt, they will be sent by the witches, as if they did it hired by them, and that you say where harmes do follow men vpon natural causes, that they can make shew as though they did them. But are you of this mind, that there should be as many or all those harmes done by diuels, if there were no witches, as there be now? Although I must needs confesse, that the witches can giue the diuell

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no power, nor he can take none by their sending: yet may it not be that God giueth them power oftener because of those witches dealing with them, then if there were no witches at all:

Dan. The craftinesse of diuels is such, as without the light of Gods word, the wisest men vnder heauen must needs be deceiued thereby. We see there be some men so deepe in subtilties, and can cary matters so close, that men cannot discern them: how much more the diuels, which are exceedingly subtil, and crafty aboue the subtillest men? The question which you aske is (in my iudgement) somewhat hard: but this is vndoubted, that if the Lord God do giue vnto the diuels oftener power to hurt because of the witches, I meane because the diuels do deale by such instruments, it is in his heauy iudgement against the wickednesse of the people, which despise the true and heavenly light of his word. As S. Paule (prophesying of the coming of the great Antichrist) sheweth, that because men did not receiue the loue of the truth, God gave the diuell power by Antichrist and his ministers, to seduce by lying signes and wonders. And indeed I will not say that for the witch the Diuell hath power giuen him, but for the wickednesse of the people, which deserue that by witches the diuell should haue power to seduce them further. Here yet we must take heed of the common error which a multitude are caried so headlong withall, that they can by no meanes see, that God is prouoked by their sinnes to giue the diuell such instruments to worke withall, but rage against the witch, euen as if she could do all.

M. B. Surely, I should be a wretch to deny, that God giueth the Diuels power to plague and to seduce because of mens wickednesse: but yet I would know whether a godly faithfull man or woman may not be bewitched? We see the Diuell had power giuen him ouer Job.

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Dan. This example of Iob is not fit to proue that a godly man may be bewitched, seeing the diuell is not said to deale by witches against him, but it doth proue, that not only the godly, but euen the most godly (as holy Iob, who had none like him vpon earth) may for their triall be giuen into the hands of Satan to be afflicted and tempted. And as I said, where Satan hath power granted him of God, to strike with bodily plagues any of the godly, for the triall of their faith and patience, he will couet if he can bring it about, to be sent by some witch, and to haue it knowne that he was sent. But the faithfull are to turne their eies from the witch, and to deale with God, for from him the matter cometh. When they be tried, the Lord in his good time will deliuer them depending vpon him, to their great praise and glory, euen as valiant souldiers. It is therefore of no great force, whether Satan come from the witch against the godly, or whether he haue no witch to deale by: overcome thou the diuell, and thou overcomest all. Indeed among the more ignorant sort he preuaileth much, whē he toucheth those which imbrace the liuely word as sent from a witch. For many now doe euen quake and tremble, and their faith doth stagger. Hath he power (thinke they) ouer such as be cunning in the Scriptures, then what are they the better for their profession? the witch is on their bones as well as vpon others. By this it might seme and so they take it, that other helpes and remedies are to be sought then by the Scriptures: and so they run and seeke helpe where they ought not.

M. B. When I pray you, though I be already perswaded it is naught to seeke to these cunning men for helpe against witches, yet let vs conferre a litle of that. There be diuers things which haue perswaded me to think maruellous wel of them, and euen as of such as God hath giuen wisdom and skill vnto, euen for to do much good. For we see many receiue helpe by them, and are deliuered

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from the plagues which come by diuels. And first, I would know how they can be so earnest against witches: if they deale with the diuel, and so be indeed witches themselves, how can they haue any mind in charity to do good, to take pity vpon such as be in misery? D; how will Satan d; iue forth Satan? For they no doubt, d; iue out diuels out of some.

Dan. I would come to answer your questions touching the seeking helpe at the hands of cunning men or women: but tell me first, are you resolu'd touching the sending of the spirits, and touching the harmes that are done? He thinke you slip too suddenly from these points?

M. B. I cannot tell whether I vnderstand your meaning in euery thing, but sure, I haue bene in error: greatly I must needs confesse. And if you please, we may stand somewhat longer in these questions.

Sam. Indeed it is my desire that you would speake a little plainer of these points: for I haue marked well all your talke, and cannot well conceiue of the last things you dealt in. With your leaue M. B. I would aske two or three questions of my friend. Here was but seven miles hence at W. H. one D. the man was of good wealth, & well accounted of among his neighbours. He pined away with sickness halfe a yeare, and at last died. After he was dead, his wife suspected ill dealing: she went to a cunning man, I know not where, and desired to know wherof her husband died. He told her that her husband died of witchery: he asked her if she did not suspect any thereabout. She sayd there was one woman which she did not like, one mother W. her husband and she fell out, and he fell sicke within two dayes after, and neuer recouered againe. He shew'd her the woman as plaine in a glasse, as we see one another, and in the very apparell she went in at that houre, for she ware an old red cap with corners, such as women were wont to weare: and in that she appeared in the glasse: He taught

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taught her how she might bring her to confesse. Well, she followed his counsell, went home, caused her to be apprehended and caried before a Justice of peace. He examined her so wisely, that in the end she confessed she killed the man. She was sent to prison, she was arraigned, condemned, and executed: and upon the ladder she samed very penitent, desiring all the world to forgive her. She sayd she had a spirit in the likenesse of a yellow dun Cat. This Cat came vnto her, as she sayd, as she sat by her fire, when she was fallen out with a neighbour of hers, and wished that the vengeance of God might light vpon him and his. The cat bad her not be afraid, she would do her no harme, she had serued a dame five yeares in Kent, that was now dead, and if she would, she would be her seruant. And whereas, sayd the Cat, such a man hath misused thee, if thou wilt I will plague him in his cattell. She sent the Cat, she killed three hogs and one Cow. The man suspecting, burnt a pig aliue, and as she sayd, her Cat would neuer go thither any more. Afterward she fell out with that B: she sent her Cat, who told her, that she had given him that, which he should neuer recouer: and indeed the man died. Now do you not thinke the woman spake the truth in all this? Would the woman accuse her selfe falsly at her death? Did not the Cat become her seruant? Did not she send her? Did she not plague and kill both man and beast? What should a man thinke of this?

Dan. You propound a particular example, and let vs examine euery thing in it touching the witch, for the womans fact that went to the wise man, we are not yet come to that point: You say the Cat came to her when she was in a great rage with one of her neighbours, and did curse, wishing the vengeance of God to fall vpon him and his.

Sam. She sayd so indeed, I heard her with mine owne eares, for I was at the execution.

Dan. Then tell me who set her in such a diuelish rage,

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so to curse and ban, as to wish that the vengeance of God might light vpon him and his: did not the Cat?

Sam. Truly I thinke the diuell wrought that in her.

Dan. Very well, then you see the Cat is the beginner of this play.

Sam. Call you it a play? It was no play to some.

Dan. Indeed the witch at last had better haue wrought hard, then bene at her play. But I meane Satan did play the Jugler: for doth he not offer his seruice? Doth he not moue her to send him to plague the man? Tell me, is she so forward to send, as he is to be sent? Or do you not take it that he ruleth in her heart, and euen wholly directeth it to this matter?

Sam. I am fully perswaded he ruleth her heart.

Dan. Then was she his Iudge, and not he her seruant, he needeth not to be hired nor intreated, for if her hart were to send him any where, vnto such as he knoweth he cannot hurt, nor seeth how to make any shew that he hurteth them, he can quickly turne her from that. Well, the Cat goeth and killeth the man, certaine Dogs, and a Cow: how could she tell that the Cat did it?

Sam. How could she tell? why he told her man, and she saw and heard that he lost his cattell.

Dan. The Cat would lye, would she not? for they say such Cats are lyers.

Sam. I do not trust the Cats words, but because the thing fell out so.

Dan. Because the Dogs and the Cow died, are you sure the Cat did kill them: might they not die of some naturall causes: as you see both men and beasts are well, and die suddenly?

Sam. That were strange, if they should die of naturall causes, and fall out so fit at the time after he was sent.

Dan. It is not straunge at all, as marke what I tell you, & you shall easily see. There be naturall causes of tor-
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tures and grieve, of lameness, and of death in the bodies of men and beastes, which lie so hid and secret, that the learnedest Physicians cannot espie them, but the diuell seeth them, and can coniecture very neare the time when they will take effect. Then doeth he plie it, to bring the matter about that it may seeme he did it. If he haue anie witch to deale by, he stirreth vp some occasion to set her in a rage with that party: and then he wil besent, and telleth her he doth it. If he haue no witch to deale by, yet he will set debate betwene the partie and some other, whom he may bring into suspicion, as his greatest desire is to haue innocent blood shed.

Sam. Here is a matter brought about indeed: how could the Cat do all this?

Dan. I told you befoze, that the diuels worke together, and can speedily and most craftily compass things, which are farre beyond the reach of mans capacitie. But sometime the diuell hath power giuen him to plague and doth the harme. Admit he had power giuen him, and did kill the cattell of this man: let vs come now to that, who thinke you, gaue him the power for to strike and kill? Did the witch giue him the power, or the Lord God?

Sam. Nay, surely the witch cannot giue him power.

Dan. Did he receiue power after she sent him?

Sam. That cannot I tell.

Dan. Then marke a litle: he hath power giuen him to plague this man in his goods: he will do it, but he will do it craftily. The Lord gaue him power ouer the goods of holy Iob: he worketh by instruments, for he stirreth vp the Sabeis, and they take away his Dren and his Asses: he raiseth vp also the Chaldeis, and they cary away his Camels, Iob. 1. Euen so, hauing power to strike, he will be sent by a witch, he could do it without her, but he gaineth much that way, as we shall see when we come to speake of the remedies which men seeke.

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Sam. I wonder then that the man neuer had moze hurt after he had burnt his pig aliue.

Dan. O man, the Diuell can abide no rost meate, nor no fire, he is afraid, if they fall a roasting, that they will rost him. If they run at him with a spit red hote, they gather him so soze, that his dame shall go her selfe, if she will, he will come no moze there. But of these things we are to speake afterward in their place.

Sam. You make the diuell wonderfull subtile.

Dan. He is so subtile and full of all craft and sleight, that no earthly creature can escape from being seduced by him, without the light of Gods heauenly word. But let vs come now to the other man, whom the witch confessed she killed by her Cat.

Sam. Hea, that me thinketh is moze then the other: the woman was told by the cunning man that her husband was killed by witchery. The witch confessed so much at her death. The Cat told the witch, that she killed him.

Dan. Here be a company of credible persons to be beleued: the cunning man saith the man was bewitched to death. Who told him that?

Sam. His spirit that maketh the witch appeare in the glasse.

Dan. That same spirit, what do you take him to be, an Angell, or a Diuell?

Sam. Some of the cunning men say, they haue Moses or Elias, or the spirit of some holy man.

Dan. The Diuell can turne himselfe into the likenesse of an Angell of light. For they that do thinke the cunning men and women deale with any other spirit then Satan, haue no vnderstanding. Satan saith, the man was witched to death.

Sam. Satan saith so, he is not to be beleued, but the witch confesseth it was so.

Dan. Who told the witch?

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Sam. Her Cat that she sent.

Dan. What is the Cat, a diuell: then remember the prouerbe, Aske his fellow if he be a thiefe. All the matter resteth vpon the testimony of diuels, and they not put to their oath. We will not ground vpon mans testimonie without an oath, and must we beleue the bare word of diuels?

Sam. Do you thinke then that the man was not killed by witcherie?

Dan. It may be the Lord had giuen Satan power to plague the man in his bodie, and then he vnder a colour would be sent by a witch. But it is most like that his body did languish and pine of naturall causes, which the diuell did know, and so would be sent, and same to do all, when as indeed he had no power to touch him. For although the Lord giue the diuell power, to strike some in their bodies for their haynous sinnes, yet the most which the witches thinke their spirits do kill at their request, do die of naturall diseases.

Sam. When it seemeth the witches are deceiued and mocked, when he maketh them beleue he doth kill and plague when he doeth not. And againe in this, where he hath power giuen him of God, to strike man or beast, he could do it, and would without the witch, and so vseth the witch for a colour to draw on worse matters.

Dan. I am glad you take my meaning so right: for, thinke deeply of the matters, and you shall see it must needs be so.

Sam. I interrupted. M.B. I pray you go forward now to the rest.

Dan. Our matter which we come vnto now, is the helpe and remedie that is sought for against witches at the hands of cunning men. And now if it please you to propound your questions, I will answer to them the best I can.

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M. B. Nay truly, I see alreadie all is naught, but yet I will obiect those things which haue caried me awry. I take it a man is to seeke remedie against euils, and I thought it was euen a gift that God gaue vnto those who we call cunning men, that they did very much good by. When a thing is lost, when a thing is stolen, many go to them, and they helpe them to it. I did know where the Communion cup was stolen: the Churchwardens rode to a wife man, he gaue them direction what night, & where they should stand, and the party that had stolen it should come thither, and confesse he had it: & certainly they had it againe. I did know one that had a child of five years old, a girle, it was taken pitiously: the father was in great heauinesse, and knew not what to do: some gaue him counsel to go to a woman which dwelt ten miles from him, and to cary some of the clothes which the child lay in: he did so, the woman told him that his child was bewitched, and if he did not seeke remedie in time, the child would be lost: she bad him take some old clothes, and let the child lye in them all night, and then take and burne them: and he should see by the burning, for if they did burne black, that shewed the child was bewitched: and she said further, that doubtlesse the witch would come thither. We followed her aduice, and sure as we be here, there came an old woman in, which he suspected, euen while they were burning, and made an errand: the man made no moze ado, but euen laid his cloyches vpon her and clawed her vntil the blood ran downe her cheeks, and the child was well within two dayes after. I could tell you of a stranger thing, but I haue it but by report, but yet indeed by very credible report. There was a butcher by his trade that had a boy to his sonne, his name was Iohn, grievous sores did breake forth vpon him: they layed salues, and none would cleaue for to drawe or to ease them. The father making his moane to a friend of his, he told him whither

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whither he should goe to a very skilfull man: he did go, and being demaunded whome he suspected, she was shewed him in a glasse, an old woman that dwelt not far from him in an house alone: he told the cunning man, that the woman had shut vp her doore, and was gone from home out of the shire, and so he could not tell how to come by her: he told him a way how he should fetch her home. Cut off the haire (said he) of the boyes head, and put it in a cloth and burne it, and I warrant you she wil come home with all the speed she can. Burne it abroad, burne it not in a chimney, for if you do, it will make you all afraid. The man went home and did this. The woman came home with all speed, came to his house, came to the boy, and said: Iohn, scratch me, he scratched her untill the bloud followed, and whereas before nothing would draw his sores, they healed of themselves. What should a man thinke of such things?

Dan. You tell of some, which haue receiued helpe from the hands of cunning men: and no doubt there may infinit examples be brought. Some haue lost, some haue things stolen from them, some are berred in their bodies: They come by the things againe which were lost or stolen, they are taught to do certaine things, and are eased from their griefes. But this we must first know, they receiue their helpe, if it deserue the name to be called helpe, from the diuell. And do you thinke a man may lawfully seeke help at the hands of the diuell?

M. B. Some are perswaded that they do not seeke helpe at the hand of diuels, when they go to the wise men: but that it is a gift which God hath giuen them, euen to do good withall.

Dan. I do verily thinke that many of the people are so perswaded: but what reason is there for it? Doth God by his Spirit tell where the thing is which is lost, or stolen? As it an Angell from heauen, or the soule of some man

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that is dead, which appeareth in the Chyristall, or in the glasse, and sheweth the image of the partie which hath stolen, or that is a witch?

M. B. I had rather heare what you thinke touching these things, then shew what I haue thought.

Dan. The diuels did make the heathen people beleue that they were goddesses, and so procured that they should worship them with diuine worship. Through their craftines they had many waies to establish this: they conueyed themselues into images, and out of them gaue answers, when they were demanded, herein they vsed great craft, for whereas they could not tell what should fall out, they framed the oracle in such sort as it was doubtfull, & might be taken both waies: and so looke which part it fell out on, that seemed and was taken to be the meaning of the gods. If they did know how things would fall out indeed, as they did know sundry things touching the kingdoms and monarchies of the world, by the writings of the Prophets, and diuers things by coniectures, as the diuell could tell Saul he should be slaine, because he saw God had cast him off, and the hearts of the Israelites fainted, and the Philistines were full of courage, those they would tell plainly. Also they did conuey themselues into the bodies of men and women, and utter things which seemed very diuine, such (as I am perswaded) were the Prophetesses the Sibylles among the heathen. Such was the maide at Philippios, which is mentioned in the Actes of the Apostles, which brought great gaine vnto her masters by deuining, out of whom Paul cast the diuell. This maide could tell of things lost, of things stolen, and such like, and great resort there was vnto her, as men had neede, or desired to see the strangenesse of the matter.

M. B. Let me interrupt you a litle: The diuell cannot be in all places at once: how could he then, remaining in the maide, tell what was done in places farre off? how
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can the diuell tell where the thing lost or stolen is, which is not only far off but hidden: how can he shew the image of the thiefe or witch? Can he sit and behold all things a farre off, and in secret?

Dan. We may not ascribe vnto Diuels that they can be in all places at once, or sit in one place, and behold all things done a farre off. But they ioyne together in this speciall worke, to set vp their kingdome, and to draw the people after them, to sake helpe at their handes, and so to worshipping them. Some of them be in one place, and some in another, and from all places do stir vp the faithlesse people to run for helpe to those cunning men, and then they make the relation, for they go thither also, they know the thiefe whom they moued to the theft, and can make resemblance of his face and apparell: they can tell where things be that are hid, hauing had a finger in the matter. And thus one spirit (as it doth seme) telleth things spoken and done far off, but it is otherwise, there be many that do it, which resort from all the places where the things are done.

M. B. I am satisfied touching this point. You were shewing how the diuels did deale among the heathen out of the Fools, and out of men and women.

Dan. Yea, and they haue subtiltie wound themselves in againe among Christians. For vsing witches as their instruments, they make them beleeue that they do many harmes sent by them, which they do not, and wheras they haue power giuen them by God to afflict, they will seme to do it at the wrath and displeasure of the witch, he must send him, the matter must one way or other appeare, either he will seme eue compelled by force of such as do aduise him, to confesse that such a woman or such a man sent him, or els the witch must confesse so much. Then the people deuise how they may be safe against the witch: there is running to the wizards to learne what they should do, to

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withstand the fury of the witch, that she send not to them, or if she haue sent, how they may expell her spirit, and keepe her from sending him againe: this is it which the diuell would haue: for now he vttereth all his wares: he teacheth by these cunning men and women, many horrible abhominations, and soule abuses of the name of God, by which they are made beleue, that they haue remedy against the diuels sent by the witches, and that they are cured from their harmes.

M. B. I do not see how any man can indeed iustifie, or maintain, that the spirits which appeare vnto them in the Chrystall, or in the glasse, or water, or that any way do speake, and shew matters vnto them, be holy Angels, or the soules of excellent men, as of Moses, Samuel, Dauid, and others, though I haue heard that the cunning men take them to be such, and thinke they deale by them against diuels.

Dan. It is no matter what Satans bassals are made to beleue by his subtil sleights: it is most abhominable for any Christian man, ever to let it enter into his thought, that they do any thing by the power or wisdom of the holy Ghost, by any Angell or good spirit, or that they do any thing against the diuell, which worke by the intelligence which they haue from euill spirits: therefore hold this, that they seeke vnto diuels, which run vnto those sathsfayers.

M. B. I am perswaded indeed that they seeke vnto diuels, but I would see some reason for it out of Gods word.

Dan. Touching all spirituall matters, as to be armed with power against diuels, and to know how to auoide the danugers which they bring, we are no where to seeke and to learne but of our most blessed Lord God. And of him we cannot learne, but by his holy word, for in it he hath opened vnto vs all his whole will. And therefore
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where the Lord commaundeth the people of Israell by Moses, Deut. 18. that they should not when they came into the land, learne to do according to the abominations of those heathen, reckoning by sundrie kinds of such as were Satans instruments which he vsed to seduce the multitude, by deuinations, by obseruing of times, by augurie, by iuglings with the helpe of the diuell, by vsing familiar spirits, spirits of deuination, and seeking to the dead: he setteth down also the remedie, shewing first, that he would cast out those nations because they hearkened vnto the Southsayers, and deuiners, pronouncing that euerie one which doth those things, is an abomination to the Lord, willing his people that they should not hearken to such, but that they should hearken vnto him: and then Moses saith, A Prophet shall the Lord thy God raise vp vnto thee from among you of thy brethren like vnto me, him shall ye heare.

M. B. Then you proue by that place, that we must seeke onely to God, and not to such as worke by meanes beside his words.

Dan. If you reade that place, Deut. 18. and marke euerie thing well, you shall see it doth not onely proue that they seeke vnto Diuels, which runne to these running men and women: because the Prophets which God hath raised vp to declare the Lords will, commaund vs not to do such things: but also declareth that they be an abomination to the Lord that vse them, or that seeke vnto them.

M. B. I see then it is not onely a sinne, but a most horrible sinne, to seeke vnto them. Alas, many do not thinke that they seeke vnto diuels, when they go for helpe vnto them for things stolne, or for helpe and remedie against witches.

Dan. No doubt many refuse to heare the voice of God, to be instructed by him: they despise his word, and therfore

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they be giuen vpon to hearken vnto Diuels. Such as haue sought vnto any of these that work by the diuell, and now come to see their offence, ought to shew repentance for the same, not as for a light sinne. It is no small abomination to go for helpe vnto the diuell: it is to set him in Gods place, and to honour him as God. It riseth of infidelitie and distrust of help from God, as we may see in the example of king Saule, who finding no answer nor comfort from God, whom he had so wickedly disobeyed, went to a witch. The heathen man said, *Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta mouebo*. If I cannot intreat the gods, I will downe among the diuels.

M. B. Say, doubtlesse there can be no defence made for such seeking helpe at their hands, which deale with familiar spirits: but I muse at diuerse things, as this for one, how the cunning men, if they deale by the power of the diuell, should vse such good words, and will them that come vnto them to do all in the name of Christ, teaching them to vse words and sentences of the Scriptures.

Dan. Sir, here lyeth the depe subtilty of Satan: how should the people be seduced to follow him, if he should not vse great cunning to couer matters, as if diuels were diuinen out, and harmes cured that are done by them, euen through the name and mighty power of God. Wherein also lyeth a more foule abomination, and that is the abusing and horrible prophaning of the most blessed name of God, and the holy Scriptures vnto witcheries, charmes, and coniurations, and vnto all diuellish arts. Such an one is haunted with a fayrie, or a spirit: he must learne a charme compounded of some strange speeches, and the names of God intermingled, or weare some part of S. Iohns Gospel or such like. So against the theefe, against the diuell sent by the witch, the like is practised. What can Satan desire more, then that holy things should be thus abused? There is ado to get him into the glasse, to get him into the

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the Chrysall, to get him into the basin of water: there is a do to bind him, as it were by the name and power of Christ to tell this thing or that thing. The coniurer he bindeth him with the names of God, and by the vertue of Christs passion and resurrection, and so maketh him serue his turne: and all his owne worke, for he is not constrained, nor bound, but seeketh thus to haue God blasphemed. **D** (sayth the simple man) this is a good woman, she speaketh of God, and of Christ, and doth all in his name: they be good words which she hath taught me to vse: and what hurt can there be in vsing good words? Alas poore man, what case are they in which must learne good words of the diuell: It is not the speaking of good words, or the wearing some part of the Scriptures, that defendeth from diuels, therein lieth the craft of Satan, to haue those holy things so fouly abused, and that men may put trust in words and sentences pronounced, but the diuels are withstood onely by the power of faith, where the holy Scriptures are written in the heart, and the soule armed with the power of them. From this Satan draweth men by his soothsayers, teaching them other helpes: For the naming of God, or the sentences of Scripture bindeth not Satan, when we reade he can vtter them.

M. B. Then how can the diuell beare such a pitifull mind, as to helpe those that be in misery? For many haue helpe by these cunning men. The diuell is cruell and bent wholly to do hurt, and that is it which perswadeth many, that things are done euen by the power of God.

Dan. The diuels be as pitifull as a greedy hungrie Lyon that roareth after his pray, and as a fierce Dragon, all burning with wrath and bloudy malice: they make shew of doing good vnto men, onely of a most cruell and murderous purpose, euen to draw men deeper into the pit of hell with them. For if they can helpe the body a litle, it is to win both body and soule vnto eternall damnation.

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Where Satan offereth his helpe, it is more to be feared, then where he manifestly impugneth, and seeketh apparently to hurt.

M.B. But this then is more strange, if they do not deale by the power of God, but by the power of the diuell, when they driue out diuels from hurting, how one diuell should driue out another. Our Saviour saith, that Satan doth not driue out satan, so; then his kingdome should be deuided and could not stand.

Dan. It is most certaine that Satan doth not driue out Satan: so; our Saviour hath shewed the reason of the contrary. One diuell is ready to further the worke of another: but in no wise to expell o; to hinder one another.

M.B. There is it which maketh me to muse: we see the diuell driuen out, and doth not returne againe, and if it be not wrought by the power of diuels, as you say it cannot, then must it needs be by the power of God.

Dan. The diuell is driuen out, neither by the power of the diuell, no; yet by the power of God, in these that are healed by cunning men.

M.B. I like this worde of all the speech which I heard you utter yet: so; if Satan be not driuen out neither by the power of Satan, no; by the power of God, what other power is there to driue him out: If you can shew a third power to expell him, it is more then euer I heard of.

Dan. There needeth not a third power to expell him, so; he is not driuen out at all.

M.B. I told you befoze, if you deny that to be, which all experience doth shew, then is it no reasoning. There be examples in many places, and daily it is sene, that the diuell is driuen out of some possessed, that where he did bere and torment men in ther bodies, and in their cattell, they haue remedy against him.

Dan. I do not denie but that some which are possessed
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and tormented by Satan, haue release : but yet the diuell is not cast forth by those meanes , but ceaseth willingly euen to establish men in error , and in most wicked prophaning of the name of God, and worshipping of himself, and so entreth deeper into them.

M. B. I beseech you let me heare how that is, that you say he ceaseth of his owne accord . Will he let go his hold willingly and of his owne accord , where he hath it vpon any man? Doth he not desire to do hurt?

Dan. He doeth not let go his hold which he hath vpon any man, but indeed taketh faster hold when he seemeth to be cast forth, and doth greater hurt : so tell me whose deuise is the coniuration?

M. B. I am out of doubt that coniuration is the deuice of the diuell.

Dan. Then tell me , hath the diuell deuised and taught a way to bind himselfe, or to cast forth himselfe?

M. B. That I suppose he would neuer do.

Dan. Indeede if we will imagine that the diuell is become an old soles; we may thinke he would teach that which should bind and cast forth himselfe : but the Scripture calleth him the old Serpent : he deuised and taught coniuration, therefore coniuration doth not cast him forth. Yet he seemeth to be bound by the coniurer , yea euen by the name of God, and by the power of the passion of Christ. The coniurer seemeth by the same power to driue him out of a man possessed, whose bodie he doth bere and torment. And he ceaseth willingly to torment the bodie, to establish coniuration , and so to draw men quite from God , euen to worship and to follow himselfe , and seeke all helpes at his hands . Euen so when men are tormented in their bodies, or plagued in their cattell by the diuell, and seeke vnto the cunning men and women, following the way that they prescribe vnto them, & haue ease in their bodies, and no more harme among their cattell , Satan doth not giue

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place as forced, but ceaseth to do those bodily harmes, that he may fully win vnto himselfe both body and soule. If they should not seeme to be expelled, how should men be drawne to seeke helpe at their hands which deale by him? how should witches & coniuers be drawne on most horribly to pollute and blaspheme the glorious name of God?

M. B. Then I see they buy their helpe deere which haue it at the hands of these cunning men.

Dan. Yea, what can be bought more deare, then that which is with the losse of soule and body for euer, by running from God after diuels?

M. B. What should a man thinke then touching all other which deale not with the diuell, and yet haue certaine wayes to find out witches, and to vnwitch that which they haue done?

Dan. Although they deale not directly by the diuell, I meane they haue no familiar spirits that speake vnto them, yet they deale by diuellish deuices, which are also an abomination to the Lord. For all those seuerall sorts of witches which the Lord rehearseth, Deut. 18. did not deale directly with diuels. For some were obseruers of times, which had their lucky dayes and their vnlucky dayes, and so their houres. If they go to buy or to sell, they chuse their hower to set forth in. Some dealt by the intrayles of beasts, and by the flying of birds, by meeting with an Hare, or a Fore, and on which hand, and a thousand such like. Some deale with the siue and a paire of sheares, using certaine words: some vse a charme for the tooth-ach, another for the ague, and for stopping the bleeding at the nose, also their spell for the thurst, and a thousand such like, when butter will not come, when cheese will not runne, nor Ale worke in the fat: These would seeme of all others to haue witches in the greatest detestation, and in the meane time worke by the diuell themselues, and may be termed witches.

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M. B. ~~We~~ doe count them witches which haue their spirits, we doe not take them to be witches which doe but vse those things which the cunning men haue taught. For they doe not mean to doe any thing by the diuell. We thinke therefore it is hard to call them witches.

Dan. Take the name of witchcraft for all that dealeth by the power and deuices of the deuill. No doubt some are more horrible than other of the seuerall sortes of witches, yet the lightest of them be abominations before the Lord, as we are taught, *Deut. 18.* and the ignorance doeth not excuse. For what though the witch suppose it is the soule of Moses, which appeareth in his Chysstal, is he not therefore a witch? Your neighbour, whose butter would not come, which beat a spit red hot and thrust into the cream, using certaine wordes, doth thinke she did by the power of God fray away the deuill, is she not therefore a witch, dealing with that which the diuell, and not God hath taught? Is she not a witch also in seeking helpe at deuils? They which did burne the cloaths which their child lay in, to know by the burning blacke whether it were bewitched, and to bring the witch thither, dealt altogether by the power and direction of the deuill, and so in scratching, for God hath taught no such things, then are they not witches? By whose instruction, & by whose power was the witch fetched home at the burning of the haire of the butchers sonne you spake of? Was not all done by the power of Satan, and by his instruction? Are not they then which practise these things the Disciples of witches, & so indeede very witches? Those which haue their charmes, and their night spels, what can they be but witches? I might reckon vpon her that dealeth with the siene and the sheares, and a number of such trumperies, in all which the most holie name of God is polluted, and if any thing be done, it is done wholly by the effectuall working of Satan. God hath giuen naturall helps, and those we may vse, as from his bande against naturall

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diseases, but things besides nature he hath not appointed, especially, they bee ridiculous to drive away deuilles and diseases.

M. B. How you speake of naturall things, we see there be great secretes in nature: the Adamant draweth Iron vnto it. And why may there not be some force in these naturall things then?

Dan. No doubt there be great secrets in nature, which the skillfull Physicians, and naturall Philosophers do find out. As the hanging of some thing about the necke, may haue force to drive away an ague, the wearing of some thing may haue such vertue to deliuer from the cramp, and such like. And from these Satan doeth take occasion to bring in his trumperies, and curious deuises. As because there be secretes in nature, a ring is curiously framed according to the signes in the firmament, this is tied to a thread, and let downe into a basen or cup of water, and will shew great things. Because there be secretes in nature, a horse must be heat red hot, and then put into a kettle setting vpon the fire to drive away the witches spirit. Also he that hath his cattle bewitched, burneth some line thing, as hogge or henne, to drive out the deuill. Can these naturall thinges expell deuils? Nay, they play the rancke witches, which burne any thing so to expell diuels: so, hath God taught to doe any such thing? Doe they burne the thing to God, or is it as a verle burnt sacrifice to the Deuill: In the time of the law burnt sacrifices were offered to God: the deuill among the heathen drew the like to himself: And now by his sleight he doth after some sort procure the same at their hands, which profess to be Christians, and thus worshipping him, he ceaseth from hurting their bodies, or their cattell, as gainst a greater matter.

M. B. If it be so (as I am not able to gainsay it) then be there multitudes in all places which are guiltie of sorcerie and witchcraft. For I see many deals in matters by the

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the helpe and power of the deuill, which are perswaded otherwise. But I meruaile much at diuers things touching the helpe which men haue by deuils. Let vs conferre a little about them. The diuell doeth know things past, & things present, but God onelie doth know what shall bee done in the time to come. If these cunning men doe deale with no further power, than the power of the diuell, how can they tell so right what shall come to passe?

Dan. It is peculiar to God alone, to know what shall come to passe hereafter. But the Lord God hath reuealed by his Prophetes, and Apostles many things that after should be fulfilled. Satan can giue a nere conjecture when these come to be fulfilled. He is a most subtil obseruer of things, and will gesse at many: but especially, where he hath power giuen him to worke and to bring any matter about, he can and will tell it aforeshand. Finally, God in his iust iudgement giueth him power to seduce the wicked.

M. B. I pray you open your meaning moze fully.

Dan. Wery well: In which haue you any doubt.

M. B. I take it the Deuill gesseth at things which are prophesied, and is a sharpe obseruer of causes. But you said he telleth what shall be where he worketh that which he foze telleth: giue some example for this.

Dan. Where needeth no better example, than that which you tolde of the Churchwardens that went to the cunning man, to knowe the theefe which had stolen their communion cuppe. It may bee sayd, where the cunning man bad them go to such a place, such a night, and at such an hower, and thither shall come he that stole the cup, how could the diuell tell, if it were a night or two after, that he should come to that place, and at that hower? You must note what power the diuell hath in the mind of a theefe. He stirred him vp to steale the cup. He stirred vp the Churchwardens to seeke to the cunning witch. He nameth the place and the time, whether, and when he would moue the

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heart of the theefe to come: and at the time appointed hee bringeth him thither, for he that could moue him to steale, could also by secret suggestion moue him to goe thither. The diuel told that the witch shuld come home with speed that had bewitched the butchers son: He that had power in her heart to make her become a witch, did know he should haue power to make her with haste to come home. One carrieth some what which a sick person hath lien in to the cunning man. He can tell, it seemeth, by the smell of the cloath, whether the diuell hath been in it (if it smell like his diuel) and so tellecth, the partie is bewitched. Take the cloathes which the sicke partie hath lien in, and burne them, if they burne blacke, then may you see it is so, and the witch shall come in while they be a burning. Now, if the Lord gaue him power, and he hath stricken and tormented the bodie of the sicke person: and if hee haue colourably stirred vp a witch to send him: is it not an easie matter for him to make the fire burne blacke, and to moue the witch to come at that present? Or if he haue power for to torment, and hath no witch to send him, his great desire being to haue men guiltie of innocent blood, is it not as easie by the permission of God, which in his iust iudgement, giueth him power to seduce such people as will hearken vnto diuels, for him to make the fire burne blacke, or at least to seeme so to them, and to moue some froward suspected woman or other to come in, though she be no witch? A thousand such things he worketh in, and as a cunning juggler can compasse and bring them about.

M.B. Indeed an innocent person may come in at such a time: but I haue heard, I cannot tell how true it is, that therefore there is a further thing which they obserue. And that is this, the cunning man biddeth, set on a posnet or some pan with naples, and seeth them, and the witch shall come in while they be in seething, and within a fewer daies after, her face will be all bescratched with the naples. And

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I haue heard that some olde woman comming in, her face hath indeed been as it were scratched within a few dayes after, for the shingles or such like brake forth.

Dan. In the depth of Satans illusions to make blinde people become witches, and to deale by him. He doth know the corrupted humours in the bodie, which will brake out into the small pockes, or such like, and if he can procure one to come in which is euen ready to haue them, what a shew doth he make, as if the nailes did it?

M. B. This were great subtiltie of Satan.

Dan. Nay, we are not able to imagine the depth of his sleights, neither can we see the secret force, wherewith he moueth the minds of ignorant people, and so bringeth about his enterprises. There doth lie the greatest cunning of Satan.

M. B. Indeed it seemeth strange and incredible, that the diuell should so moue the minds of men, and leade them vnto this thing and that thing, and in the meane time they doe, not know it, but thinke they goe against the diuell. But now I haue a further doubt. I confesse it is an easie thing for the diuell to tell where a thing is that is lost or stollen, but what power hath he to heale that which is sicke or soze? Out of question they be innumerable which receiue helpe by going to the cunning men. You say he helpeth the bodie that he may destroy the soule. He helpeth that men may seeke vnto him, and so set him, as it were, in the place of God. He thinketh it should not be in the power of diuels for to helpe.

Dan. Indeed that is well moued, there lieth a great sleight of the diuell in it. You say that innumerable doe receiue help by going vnto cunning men. I warrant you not so many as you are perswaded.

M. B. In very many. There be a number which doe neuer make it knowne, because it is misliked by some?

Dan. Yea, and there be many which come home againe

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with a flea in their eare, they receive an answer, as good as a flin flin.

M. B. It may be they come too late, the matter is ouer farre spent, and if they had come sooner, they could haue holpen them.

Dan. Yea, a number of such cosoning answers the deuill maketh which satisfie ignorant people, which are ready to beleue all that he telleth, and to dance after his pipe. One commeth to him for his childe, if he knowe the disease be deadly, hee will say it is bewitched, but so farre spent, that there is no help, the childe will hardlie liue two daies: the father commeth home and findeth his child deade, or it dieth within two or three dayes after, here the deuill getteth credit. Another is sicke and grievously tormented, hee sendeth: Satan doth see (for he sendeth them) that the disease is euery spent, and that the cause of it begins to fail, and so that the partie in a few dayes will recover, here he prescribeth one paltrie or other, they vse it, the man is recovered, and so should haue bene without the diuels medicine, but now Satan hath gotten further credite. Another is sicke and languisheth, his neighbours tell him, he may be bewitched, it is good to send, and then he shal knowe. He sendeth, the diuell doth not know whether the sicke man can escape and recover, or not. He saith, it is like he is bewitched: and teacheth what to doe, if there bee any help at all, but doubteth, and so whether the man liue or die, Satan saueth his credite whole and sound. And many of these answers he giveth. Again, we must note that mans imagination is of great force, either to continue a disease, or to diminish and take away some diseases. And in this also Satan deludeth some, for his medicine seemeth to do some what when it is but the parties conceit.

M. B. These bee sleightes indeede: but mee thinketh you goe farre in the last. I do not see how a mans conceit can helpe him.

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Dan. Imagination is a strong thing to hurt, all men doe sinde, and why should it not then be strong also to help, when the parties mind is cheared, by belœning fully that he receiueth ease :

M. B. But yet it is hard to shewe that euer anie such cure hath beene wrought.

Dan. It is not hard to shew, for that which men doe, it is presumed the diuell can doe the like. And I haue heard of a mery companion that wrought such a cure. There was one in London (as report goeth) which was acquainted with Feats. Now, this Feats had a blacke dogge, whome he called Bomelius. This partie after ward had a conceit that Bomelius was a deuill, and that hee felt him within him. He was in heavinesse, and made his moane to one of his acquaintance, who had a merie head, he tolde him, hee had a friend could remoue Bomelius. Hee had him prepare a breakfast, and hee would bring him. When this was the cure, he made him be stripped naked and stand by a good fire, and though he were fatte ynough of himselfe, basted him all ouer with butter against the fire, and made him weare a flæke stone next his skin vnder his bellie, and the man had present remedie, and gaue him after ward greate thanks.

M. B. I know men haue many foolish imaginations : but though one imagination may diue out another, which is not the curing of any disease in deed, but of an imagination : yet it doth not folloſwe, that where there is an apparant griefe, that a mans conceit can help to cure it.

Dan. Yes, the conceit doth much, euen where there is an apparant disease. A man seareth hee is bewitched, it troubleth al the powers of his mind, and that distempereth his bodie, maketh great alterations in it, and bringeth sundrie griefes. Now, when his minde is freed from such imaginations, his bodily griefe which grew from the same is eased. And a multitude of Satans cures are but such.

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M. B. *Pay there bee also evils which be apparant in the bodie, and bee cured, which come not of anie feare or imagination: how can these be cured by any conceit: There is great reason that such griefes may bee cured indeede by quieting the minde, as did growe from the disturbance of the same.*

Dan. *Pea, and that falleth out sometimes in griefes of the body, which doeth not growe from imagination, but from some other passions. As I can give you an example, which is written and reported by a very reuerend learned Physitian. The cure was done by a lewde cosening knaue in Germanie. A woman had bleare eyes that were watery. The knaue lodging there, promised for certaintie that hee would heale them: hee did hang a little writing about her necke, charging strictly, that it should not bee taken from thence, nor read, nor opened: for if any of these were done, she could haue no helpe at all by it. The woman had such a confidence in the thing, and was so merrie and glad, that she left weeping (for her often weeping and teares had spoiled her eyes) and so by little and little, the moisture stayed, and her eyes were whole. It fell out that shee lost the writing, whereat she was in such griefe and sorrowe, and weeping, that her eyes were sore againe. Another found the writing, opened it, and read it. It was written in the Germane tongue, to this effect translated into English: The diuell plucke out thine eyes, and fill their holes with his dung. Was not this, thinke you, a proper salve for to cure her eyes: If this medicine had taken effect, her eyes should not haue bin healed, but plucked quite out. We may not thinke but that Satan hath mo cosening tricks then al men in the world, for men are but his schollers. Againe, where men faile, he can worke somewhat in the affections of the parties mindes. And you shall heare them say, when any charme is vsed, you must beleue it will helpe, or els it will do you no good at all. Thus if it were well seene into,*
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the greatestt part of your innumerable cures, come to bee mere cousonages.

M. B. Well, let all this be true as you haue sayd: yet there be many things wherein the diuels doe helpe. What say you to the boy which healed within few daies after he had scratched the witch, whereas his sores were most grievous befoze, and could not be cured? What say you to that which they doe, when butter will not come, or when drinke will not worke in the fat? What say you to the burning of some liue thing, as hogge or henne, and the harme ceasing? And finally, what say you to the helping of them where the diuell is, and doth torment their bodies?

Dan. All these are answered in few wordes, that where he hath power to hurt either man or beast, drinke or butter, he helpeth only by giuing place, and ceasing to hurt, which as I shewed you befoze, he doth most willingly, to bying to passe, that men may seeke to him, & become euen very witches. If a man be bered & tormented by a diuel, & men seeke by fasting & prayer to cast him forth, euen instantly intreating the Lord, then he goeth out with much adoe, & unwillingly, as overcome & expelled by the power of God. But when he hurteth, as you say he did the butchers sonne, and they seeke to him, and will follow his prescriptions, as to draw blood of the witch, he goeth out willingly, I meane he ceaseth from hurting the bodie: for he goeth not out indeede, but rather goeth further in, and seateth himselfe deeper in the soule. And so is it in all the rest. How gladly will he cease to hurt the hennes, so that to please him, a henne may be burnt alse? his helping is no moze but a ceasing from doing harme, if he had power giuen him to hurt.

Sam. This is a strange thing if it be so. Where be thousands in the land deceiued. The woman at R. H. by report hath some weeke sought to come vnto her, and many of them not of the meaner sort. But I doe but hinder, I pray you goe so; ward.

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Dan. The diuell can deceiue thousand thousands, and euen the wisest of this world: for when they will not bee taught of God, but despise his doctrine, then are they lustily giuen ouer to be the disciples of the diuell.

M. B. If there be such deceit in all these things, and that the witches do not kill nor hurt, but the diuell craftily seemeth to kill and to hurt when the diseases be natural, and maketh the witch belceue that hee hath done all at her request. Where God hath giuen him power, he stirreth her vp to send him, as if either he could not, or would not meddle, vnles he had been sent. Seeing all lieth vpon Satan, it should seeme, there is no reason that witches should be put to death: but the Scripture doth commaund they should be put to death.

Dan. The holy Scriptures doe command that witches should be put to death: therein you say right: but if you did take it, that the word of God commaundeth they shall not be suffered to liue, because they kill men and beasts, or because they send their spirits which possesse men, and torment their bodies, you are much deceiued. For you shal neuer finde, of all that haue been tormented and plagued by euill spirits, that the holie Ghost layeth it vpon witches. The causes why they should be put to death are, that they haue familiaritie with diuels, which are the blasphemous enemies of God: and that they seduce the people into error, to runne after diuels, and diuelish practises, and that they haue such wicked mindes. Although they neuer mind to kill or to hurt any, but to doe them good, as they imagine; yet if they deale with Diuels they ought to dye for it.

M. B. When you take it, that these cunning men and women, vnto whom so many runne for helpe, which are thought to do very much good, and no hurt at all, ought to be rooted out, and destroyed. Let vs know what scripture there is for it.

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Dan. Yea, of all other they ought to dye, because they doe the greatest harme. Other witches that haue Spirits are thought to doe harme, because the diuell at his appointment of God doth harme, and he beareth in hand hee doth it at the request of the witch: but these that seeme to doe good, doe harme indeed, and that many waies, as euery one that light in him, may easly see. And for the Scriptures which shew that they ought to dye, reade first in the 22. chapter of *Exod. vers. 18.* and there it is said, Thou shalt not suffer a witch to liue.

M. B. What place we take to be meant of these witches which send their spirits to doe harme: the other be not called witches.

Dan. It is that witch that is there commanded to bee put to death, that is called Meca'shephah: such were they and so called, which befoze Pharaoh did withstand Moses, and made in shew rods turned into Serpents. So that in one kinde the Lord doth include all such as worke by the diuell. For there be diuers other sorts named in *Dent. 18.* and they be all called an abomination to the Lord: and no abomination is to bee suffered to remaine among the Lords people. Also in the same place, when hee saith, Let there not be found in thee any such or such, as he there reckoneth them vp: It is not alone to will that none should practise such things, but also that they should bee rooted out.

M. B. I must needs agree vnto that which the word of God doth set downe. But this is the hardest matter of all, how they shall be conuicted.

Dan. Why doe you take it to bee the hardest matter, how a witch shall be conuicted: how is a thief or a murderer conuicted but by proofe? If there be vehement suspicion, and the partie vpon examination confesse the fact, that is a sufficient proofe. If the partie doe denie, and two or three of credit doe testifie vpon their knowledge with a so-

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lemne oath, that he is guiltie of the fact, that is also a sufficient proöfe. And touching this, God commanded by Moses, that none should dye, vnielſe the matter were prooued againſt them by two witneſſes at the leaſt, *Deuteronom. 19. verſ. 15.*

M. B. I graunt, if the partie doe denie, and eſpecially, if the matter touch life, that there ought by the word of God to be due proöfe by two witneſſes at the leaſt. This may be for murderers, this may be for thēues: but for witches I ſee not how. They deale ſo ſecretly with their ſpirits, that very ſeldome they can be conuincd by flat teſtimonies of men, as to ſay directly they haue heard or ſeen them ſend their ſpirits. And againe, it is a rare thing to haue a witch confeſſe. For it is generally thought the diuel hath ſuch power ouer them, that he will not ſuffer them to confeſſe.

Dan. ¶ then I perceiue why you account it the hardeſt matter of all to conuiſt a witch, if both teſtimony and confeſſion doe faile: but what would you haue further?

M. B. I haue been of this opinion, that if there were any likelihood, and ſuſpition, and common ſame, that it was euen proöfe enough, and the beſt deede that could be done for to hang them by, and ſo to ridde the countrey of them.

Dan. Then you thought that their ſpirits were hanged with them, and ſo the countrie being rid of the witches and their ſpirits, mens bodies and their cattell ſhould be ſafe.

M. B. I had a little more wiſt then to thinke ſo: but in truth it was but a little more. For I thought if al the witches were hanged, that then their ſpirits ſhould not haue any to hire them, nor to ſend them to hurt either man or beaſt: but I ſee mine owne follie, and that onely God giueth the power vnto the diuels to afflicke and trie the godly, and to bere, torment, and plague the wicked, and that they

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shall do this, though al the witches in the world were hanged. I know they néede none to cherish them, or to set them a worke.

Dan. But did you not feare if all suspected should be hanged, then some guiltles persons might be put to death? As you see many that haue been executed as witches, haue taken it vpon their death that they were innocent.

M. B. I will tell you my thought touching that point, which was this. The witches raise tempestes, and hurt cozne and frustes vpon the trees, the witches bying the pestilence among men, and murraine among cattell: the witches send their spirits and make men lame, kill their children and their cattell: their spirits cannot be taken héede of, nor kept out with doores and wals as thieues and murderers, but come in when they be sent, and doe so many harmes: for this cause I thought it a marvellous good worke to put all suspected to death, though some of them were innocent, that so sure worke might be made to haue not one left.

Dan. Did you not thinke it a fearesfull thing to shed innocent blood?

M. B. Yea, but I thought it much better that some should be put to death wrongfully, then to leaue any one witch, which might kill and destroy many.

Dan. When I perceiue that this was the reason which did perswade you, that it was very good to put all to death that were suspected (although it might fall out that some of them were innocent) to auoyde greater inconuenience, and that is, if some few witches should escape, which might plague and kill many. Better a few should be put wrongfully to death, then many should be tormented and killed, or lamed by the diuels. But are you still of that mind?

M. B. So verily. For you haue put me in minde that the wicked spirits receiue their power to plague both men and beasts, onely from God. They seeke about, they watch

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when and where hee will giue them leaue to touch, where God will trie the faith and patience of the iust by him, as he did in Iob, he sendeth him, if he will be sent by a witch, it is but vnder a colour, hee giueth him not the power, hee would touch though he were not. Where God will strike and plague the wicked by him, he giueth him leaue, it is not the anger of the witch that bringeth it, but their owne wickednes, whereby they haue prouoked God to displeasure, and so giue this enemy power ouer them.

Dan. When so long as these two things stand, that God by Satan will assist in some soyt and trie his children (as you alleage hee did Iob) and that hee will vse him as his executioner, to plague and torment the wicked, as he sent an euill spirite to bere king Saule: so long the harmes done by wicked spirites shall not cease, although all the witches and consurers in the worlde were hanged by. Looke then to the causes, if wee will remooue the effects. As if thou feare God, and Satan assist thee, stand fast in faith and patience, and waite vpon God for thy deliverance. If thou endure temptation, thou art blessed, and shalt be crowned. Iam. 1. ver. 12. If thy sinnes haue prouoked God, and the enemy doth touch thy body or thy goods, fall downe and humble thy selfe with fasting and prayer, intreate the Lord to turne away his displeasure: loke not vpon the witch, lay not the cause where it is not, seeke not help at the hands of devils, be not a disciple of witches, to commit things abhominable, by polluting the name of God, and honouring Satan, nor thirst not after the blood which is innocent, as it falleth out in many.

M. B. I doe assent vnto al this: and surely it is a great fault to shed innocent blood.

Dan. Wee may learne in the holie scriptures, that the shedding of innocent blood is a verie horrible thing in the eyes of almightie God: and a very grievous thing it is to haue a land polluted with innocent blood: and that is one speciall

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ſpectall cauſe why Satan dealeth by witches: for he labour-
eth to wzap in many guiltleſſe perſons vpon ſuſpitions,
he ſuggeſteth by his helping witches, that there be ma-
ny hurting witches in all towne, and villages, that ſo he
may ſet the multitude in a rage, and to ſuſpect vpon euery
likelihood that hee can deuile or make ſhew of. And thus
whole Iuries muſt become guiltie of innocent blood, by
condemning as guiltie, and that vpon their ſolemne oath,
ſuch as be ſuſpected vpon vaine ſurmises and imaginati-
ons, and illuſions, riſing from blindnes and infidelitie, and
feare of Satan which is in the ignozant ſort.

M. B. If you take it, that this is one craft of Satan, to
bying many to be guiltie of innocent blood, and euen vpon
their oathes, which is horrible, what would you haue
the Iudges and Iuries to doe, when any are arraigned of
ſuſpition to be witches?

Dan. What would I haue them doe? I would wiſh
them to bee moſt warie and circumspect that they bee not
guiltie of innocent blood. And that is, to condemne none
but vpon ſure ground, and infallible prooſe, becauſe pre-
ſumptions ſhall not warrant or excuſe them befoze God if
guiltleſſe blood be ſhed.

M. B. It ſaileth out ſometimes when a theefe is ar-
aigned, or a murderer, that direct euidence ſaileth, and
yet ſuch circumſtances are brought, as doe euen enforce
the Iurie in their conſcience to finde them guiltie: It ſeemeth
that this holdeth chiefly about witches, becauſe their
dealing is cloſe and ſecret, and it is alſo thought that the
diuell hath ſo great power ouer them, that he will not ſa-
fer them to confeſſe.

Dan. You bying two reaſons to prooue that in conuic-
ting witches, likelihoods and preſumptions ought to be of
force moze then about thecues or murderers. The firſt,
becauſe their dealing is ſecret: the other, becauſe the diuell
will not let them confeſſe. Indee de men imagining that

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witches doe worke strange mischiefes, burne in desire to haue them hanged, as hoping then to be free, and then vpon such perswasions as you mention, they suppose it is a verie good worke to put to death all which are suspected. But touching theues and murtherers let men take heede how they deale vpon presumptions, vnles they be very strong: for we see that Iuries sometimes doe condemne such as be guiltlesse, which is an hard thing, especially being vpon their oath. And in witches aboue all other, the proofes had need to be strong, because there is greater sleight of Satan to pursue the guiltles vnto death, than in the other. Here is speciall care and wisdome to be vsed. And so likewise for their confessing, Satan doth gaine moze by their confession, than by their deniall, and therefore rather bewrayeth them himselfe, and soyleth them to confession, oftner than vnto deniall.

M. B. These things are beyond my reach, I cannot conceiue of them. I pray you open it so as that I may perceiue your meaning, and see some ground of reason for that which you shall affirme.

Dan. When is it requisite to stand vpon them moze at large. And let vs begin with the latter.

M. B. If you goe first to the latter, then shew some reason or experience that Satan bewrayeth the witches, and draweth them to confesse, & to disclose themselves, rather then to conceale and hide their doings. I can tell you this befoze hand, that the common opinion is otherwise, which seemeth to be grounded both vpon reason and experience.

Dan. I know the common opinion is as you say: But I do much marueile at it, seeing reason and experience doe proue the contrarie, as I will shew. As first, touching reason, you will graunt, that the diuels dealing altogether by sleight and subtilties, do that which doth most further their purposes and desires.

M. B. What is the verie reason why the Diuell would
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by no meanes haue the witches betwaped, as it is thought, because he would lurke secretly to doe mischief.

Dan. Indeede it were a good reason to proue that part, if Satan receiued his power from the witch, or could doe nothing but by her sending, or needed to bee harboured by her, or had no minde to meddle, but as it were hired to satisfie her wrath. But seeing all these be absurd, and he useth the witch and confurer but vnder a colour to bring in further evils, it must needs followe, that the disclosing is fitter for his purpose, than the keeping secret: for if they should be kept secrete, how should he make men think that he doth so many harmes at the request of the witch: howe should he drawe so many to runne after deuils, to seek help at their handes? how should he procure so many to vse wicked and blasphemous charms and so;ceries, and in so horrible manner to abuse the blessed name of God, and his most sacred word: O; how should he draw the people into manifold errors, and to thirst euen in rage after innocent blood: All these and a number such like hee procureth and furthereth, by disclosing witches.

M. B. But how shall this reason be confirmed by experience: No doubt in shew he is loath to haue his Name (as some speake) disclosed.

Dan. You say well, that in shew he is loath to haue the witch betwaped: for indeede it is onely in shew, seeing he would make her and others also beleue, euen when he doth betwape her by one meanes or other, that it is so;e against his liking.

M. B. I pray you make that euident.

Dan. When one feleth himsef plagued any way, and woth take it to bee by Satan, admit it be so: he goeth to a cunning man, and he sheweth him in a glasse, or in a Chyr: stall the shape of the witch. Who now betwapeth her?

M. B. That is the cunning mans spirite which betwapeth her, and not her spirit which she dealeth withall.

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Dan. You are not sure of that : for it may bee the same deuill that she dealeth withall, that resembleth her in the glasse: none can doe it better.

M. B. I doe not thinke that hee departeth away from her.

Dan. Yea, but you must remember that she which dealeth with a spirit, dealeth not with a deuill, but with deuill's: for manie doe soyn together. When one of them departeth and carrieth the matter to the cunning man, they do not all depart. But what if it be as you said, that som other spirits do bewray, doe you thinke he doeth it against the liking of the witches spirite? Is Satan deuised against Satan? Will Satan bewray Satan to his hindrance? Remember what our Saviour hath taught touching that.

M. B. Then if it be so, doe you not take it a sufficient ppoofe against a witch, euen for a Turke to finde guilty vpon their oath, if a cunning man by his spirite do bewraye anie.

Dan. It is the most insufficient ppoofe that can be, for although he doe tell true in bewraying many, as their own confessions do witnes: yet he doeth it of an euill purpose, he is a lyer: and the father of lies, he desireth chiefly to accuse the innocent, that he may bring men to bee guilty of innocent blood, to make the people beleue there be multitudes of witches, to set them a worke to learne charmes and sorceries, and chiefly, that they may be brought to seeke vnto him, as the bewrayer euen in pittie, of such bad people. Now, because he craftily bewrayeth some, to get credite, shall mens verdit by oath, euen vnto blond, be grounded vpon his testimony? If a deuill should come in vnto a Turke, and say the partie about whom you enquire is a witch, should they beleue him, or wold they say let him be sworn, and witnesse vpon his oath: If not, why should they beleue that which he hath spoken to the cunning man?

M. B. Surely I am out of doubt hee doth all in craft vnto

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unto a most bad purpose, and that no credit ought to bee giuen vnto his testimony when it is voluntary. But what say you to his testimonie, when he is euen charged and forced in the name and power of God to tell the truth? It seemeth then he would conceale, but cannot.

Dan. The confurer which suppoeth that hee doeth bind by the name and power of God to tell him the truth, is vtterlie deluded. For he is not bound, but is glad that the most glorious name of God is so horrible abused, and that hee can drawe men into such a gulf of all abomination.

M. B. Nay, I doe not meane the confurer, but when such as be godlie go about to cast him forth by prayer.

Dan. This I take to bee your meaning, a man or a woman is possessed with a Deuill, put case it bee so indeede (to distinguish them from so many counterfayts, as haue bene) and men assemble together where the possessed is, and cald vpon God, and then charge Satan in the name of Christ to tell how hee came there and who sent him.

M. B. I meane so indeede. And some being possessed, the deuill being charged to tell who sent him, he hath confessed, that such a man did confure him in thither, or such a witch did send him. Shall not this be of force to conuince?

Dan. When any is possessed by the fiend, mens compassion, their loue and pity are to be shewed, euen to helpe what they can in such a distresse. They ought with all instant suit to intreat the Lord to shew mercy, and to expell him. The doctrine of the holy scriptures doth warrant this: but for men to talke and question with him, I see no warrant at all by Gods word, much lesse to commaund and adiure him to depart. He is the Lords executioner, he hath sent him, we may intreat the Lord to reioine him, but what authority haue we to commaund him to depart, where God hath sent him?

M. B. Open haue no authority, I grant, but they com-

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inand and adore him in the name and power of the Lord,
so; to depart.

Dan. That I take ought not to be, so; mark this comparison: the Prince is displeased with a subject so; some disloyaltie: An Officer is sent from the Prince to attach and imprison him: shall hee o; any other charge this Officer in the Princes name to let him alone, and not to meddle: Is not their way only to pacifie the Prince, and so the Prince wil command the Officer to cease: Euen so, where God sendeth Satan his executioner, the only way is to intreat the Lord to be pacified, so; then shall the tormento; no longer remaine.

M. B. Howe doeth this which you speake agreē with that which we read in the Acts of the Apostles, how sainte Paule commaunded the deuill to come out of a Payde at Philippes:

Dan. The holy Apostles and others in the Primitive Church, had an extraordinary power giuen them to cast sooth diuels, and to heale diseases, and they did execute the same power by the direction and instind of the holy Ghost. We may not draw a patterne from that.

M. B. We see that deuils are sometimes expelled.

Dan. They are when the Lord is intreated, other wise they but seeme to be bound by adiuration and expelled. But how can it be proued, that the father of lies may be bound, and forced through charge and adoration in the name and power of God to tell the trueth: And what warrant haue wee to learne any trueth from his mouth: As to say, we command thee in the name of God, that thou tel vs who sent thee. Who sent thee: who sent thee? Another Ioan, Another Ioan, saith he: Also we command thee to tell vs, who sent thee. L. B. confured me in hither (saith hee) Shall wee thinke he doeth this euen compelled: O; shall we ground vpon it so; certaintie, that he telleth no lie:

M. B. The deuill in a partie possessed hath said, such a
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man confured me in hitber. The confurer hath beene put to death for it, and hath confessed so much. The diuell in an other hath said, such a woman sent me; it hath likewise bin confessed by the woman.

Dan. All this maketh for that which I affirme. The Lord giueth him power to possesse a man. He vnder a colour will be sent by a confurer, or by a witch: and the one thinketh the deuill entreteth at her intreaty: the other supposeth he doeth euen bind him thereto, whereas he ruleth both their mindes, and setteth them a worke. When doeth hee willingly bewray them, euen for many subtill purposes: but chiefly, that he may establish confurations, witchcrafts and charmes, that hee may be sought vnto, that he may let the people a worke in their calamities to be troubled about witches and confurers, as though they could plague, and neuer looke to God, and that bewraying some witches and confurers, hee may winne credite, and bee beleeued, euen when he accuseth falslie, that he may bring innocent blood vpon the land. Let all men take heed how vpon their oath they giue a verdict, especially touching life, vpon his word, howsoeuer he seeme to be so; ced thereunto: al is most darpe craft and subtilty in him.

Sam. I pray you giue me leaue to speake a little. You say the diuel willingly bewrayeth witches and confurers, and that for many subtill purposes. I haue heard of diuers things done of late which seeme quite contrarie, and that he taketh it grieuously when they doe confesse and bewray matters.

Dan. Hee will seeme to take it in euill part, but let vs heare the matters, and you shall see plainely that hee inglegth, and maketh shewe of that which is contrary to his practise.

Sam. Well, I haue heard very credibly, that a woman of late, suspected another woman to be a witch, & that she had hurt her some way. She procured a gentleman to send

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for the partie suspected, and charging her in his presence, He left her to the Gentleman, who taking her aside, and walking alone with her, began to admonish and perswade her to renounce the diuell: & to forsake such wicked waies: While hee was thus perswading, and she denying stridy that she was any such woman, suddenly there appeared some distance from them, a Measill or Lobsterre looking euen vpon them. Looker (said the Gentleman) yonder same is thy spirit. Ah master (said she) that is a vermine, there be many of them euery where. Well, as they wit towards it, it was banished out of sight: by and by it appeared againe, and looked vpon them. Surely (said the Gentleman) it is thy spirit: but she still denied, and with that her mouth was drawne awrye. Then hee pressed her further, and she confessed all. She confessed she had hurt and killed by sending her spirit. The Gentleman being no Iustice, let her goe home, and did minde to open the matter vnto some Iustice. When she was come home, another witch meeteth her, and saith: Ah thou beast, what hast thou done: thou hast bewrayed vs all. What remedie now (said she:) What remedy, said the other: send thy spirit & touch him: she sent her spirit, and of a suddaine the Gentleman had as it were a flash of fire about him: he lifted vp his hart to God, and felt no hurt. The spirit returneth, and tolde he could not hurt him because he had faith: what then, said the other witch, hath he nothing that thou maist touch: he hath a childe, said the other. Send thy spirit, said she, and touch the child: she sent her spirit, the childe was in great paine and died. The witches were hanged and confessed.

Dan. What is the chiefe thing which you alleadge this for:

Sam. So shew how vnwilling the diuell was that the witch should confesse & bewray things. No doubt it should seeme, that when the Gentleman was talking with her, he appeared to call her away, for feare least she should confesse:
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and when she would not come away, he drew her mouth away: and when she had confessed, the diuel complained vnto the other witch, and made her chide her.

Dan. The thing is as clere as may be, that he willinglie bewzaped them: and will you imagine the contrarie? Why did he appeare in a likenesse, but euen to enforce her for to confesse, both by abashing, and giuing the Gentleman euident notice, especially, when he drew her mouth away: And why did he set on the other witch to moue her that had confessed to send her spirit, but that he would haue the matter more open, and bring them both to light?

Sam. What should moue him to bewzap the witches? what could he gaine by it?

Dan. Say, what almost doth he not gaine by it? Now all the countrie rings of the matter. As if the witches set on their spirits to lame and to kill: and that they doe not meddle, but sent by them. He did know what power he had from God to afflict any: he will deale by witches: he maketh others afraide of them, that so they may accuse them. He findeith meanes to haue all disclosed. He moueth the witches to seyd him against the gentleman: he knoweth what he can doe: he returneth and saith there is faith: As though God did not giue him power sometimes to afflict the faithfull: Or as if he could touch all that haue no faith? If he could, the greatest part of the world should be destroyed by him. For they be very few in the world in comparison which haue the true faith. The must he be sent to the child that hath no faith: both not the faith of the parents holde Gods protection ouer their infants as ouer themselves? Here is Satans craft: either hee did know by things breeding in the bodie of the child that it would at such time fall sicke and die: and he would be taken to be the killer of the child, to beare in hand that he hath such power and will doe when hee is requested. Or els he had power giuen him of God, and would bring it about this way. If hee did strike
the

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the child, do you imagine he doth it at her pleasure? Or doe you thinke he would neuer haue thought of any such thing, but moued by her? Doe not all the armies of diuels goe about continually, seeking whom they may deuour? Do they not waite where God wil giue them power to strike? Shall we still be so simple as to thinke that women neede to hire or to intreat them to doe harme? Look vnto God, for those wicked spirits play all parts in the play, and delude both the witches and others.

Sam. I will tell you another thing which was done of late. A woman being suspected to be a witch, and so haue done some hurt among cattell, was examined, and confessed indeed, that she had a spirit which did abide in a hollow tree, where there was an hole, out of which he spake vnto her. And euer when she was offended with any, she went to that tree, and sent him to kill their cattell. She was perswaded to confesse her fault openly, and to promise that she would utterly forsake such vngodly waies: after she had made this open confession, the spirit came vnto her being alone. Ah, said he, thou hast confessed and bewrayed all, I could teeme it to rend thee in peeces: with that she was afraid, and wound away, and got her into companie. With in some few weekes after, she fell out greatly into anger against one man. Towards the tree she goeth, and before she came at it, Ah, said the spirit, wherefore comest thou? who hath angered thee? Such a man, said the witch. And what wouldest thou haue me doe, said the spirit? He hath (saith she) two horses going yonder, touch them, or one of them. Well, I thinke euen that night one of the horses died, and the other was little better. Indeed they recovered that one again which was not dead, but in very euill case. Here me thinketh it is plaine: he was angrie that she had bewrayed all. And yet when she came to the tree he let goe all displeasure and went readily.

Dan, Doe you thinke all is plaine here? Indeede here
is

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Is that plaine dealing which diuels doe vse. Firſt, doe you thinke Satan lodgeth in an hollow tree? Is hee become ſo lazie, and ſole? hath he left off to be as a roaring lion, ſee- king whom he may deuour? hath he put off the bloodie and cruell nature of the fire Dragon, ſo that hee mindeth no harme, but when an angrie woman ſhall intreate him to goe kill a Cow or a Horſe? Is he become ſo doting with age, that me ſhall eſpie his craft: yea, be found craftier then he is? Alas, may there not be deep ſubtiltie in theſe things?

Sam. Doe you thinke there is nothing but ſubtiltie in theſe things?

Dan. Doe I thinke there is nothing but ſubtiltie? Tell me what you thinke. What other end can there be but ſub- tiltie?

Sam. He may haue this purpoſe (as I thinke the diuels ſtudie nothing els) to doe harme.

Dan. I doe not denie that: for all his craft tendeth vn- to harme. But what harme meane you?

Sam. You ſee here he killed mens cattell.

Dan. It may be he did: but how know you that?

Sam. You ſee he went at her request & killed one horſe, and almoſt killed the other.

Dan. I would be loth to aduenture my hand vpon that: for who told you that he killed the one, and almoſt killed the other?

Sam. The Witch her ſelfe hath confeſſed the whole matter.

Dan. Who told the witch ſo?

Sam. Her ſpirit told her that he did it at her request.

Dan. He is a credible perſon, and kind he was vnto her as it ſeemeth.

Sam. Nay, but we ſee all things ſell out according as ſhe confeſſed.

Dan. How doe you meane?

Sam. Why, ſhe confeſſed her fault, the ſpirit was an-

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grie with her, after ward she fel out with that man, and by
on this his hoise died, she confessed she sent the spirit, how
could all things fall out so fit :

Dan. The spirit when she came towards the tree, asked
her, wherfore comest thou : who hath angred thee :

Sara. He did so.

Dan. And doe you imagine that the diuell did lie there,
and knew nothing untill she came and told him :

Sara. Why needed he to aske her if he did know :

Dan. Because hee is subtil : for hee wrought in her
heart, and kindled her wrath, and procured the falling out
betwene her and that man : hee did know either that the
hoises at that time had somewhat in them which would
bring death, or els that the Lord had given him power for
to strike them: he moued and wrought in her heart to haue
her come againe to the tree: he seemed to be angrie that she
had cosseled before, but was not, but sought to haue things
knowne. If he had not knowne that the hoise should dye,
either by some naturall cause, which would then breake
swyth, or by some power given to him, he would not at this
time haue moued her heart to goe to the tree. And if her
wrath had without his suggestion caried her so farre, hee
could quickly haue turned her : for great is the efficacie of
Satans working in the hearts of such.

Sara. But I marked one thing which you said before,
as that it might bee that God giueth sometimes power to
the diuell, euen at the sending of the witch.

Dan. I say that God in iustice giueth power vnto Sa-
tan to delude, because men refuse to lone his trueth : but
that maketh not that the Diuell obtaineth any power to
hurt because the witch sendeth, but the fault is in men, the
sinnes of the people giue power to the Diuell : for God is
offended, and sendeth (as S. Paul saith) strong delusion.
But haue you any more examples to proue that the diuell
is not willing to haue witches betrayed :

Sara.

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Sam. I haue heard of many such like, but you say all is but craft, and that he would haue men thinke her doth all harmes that are done.

Dan. The diuell would haue men beleue that he doth all, if he could bring it about: and therefore it is for his advantage if he doe hurt, to haue it not kept secret, but openly to be made knowne.

M. B. What say you then vnto this, a witch is apprehended vpon vehement suspition, and caried before a Iustice: he handleth the matter in such sort that she confesseth, as I heard of one not long since: her confession was to this effect: She had two spirits, one like a Weasill, the other like a Mouse. These, she said, did many things for her. Now, she accused a woman about ten or twelue miles off, whom (it may be) she did not know, and yet could name, and not onely that, but said, the woman had, as it were, a little bigge in her mouth where the spirit did sucke blood.

Dan. It is a most easie thing for the diuell to tell witches, that such a man or such a woman is a witch, and hath this or that secret mark vpon them. And within these few yeares hee hath by witches and cunning men, accused such as were very religious and godly. Men must beware that they proceed not vpon his testimony: he is not to be troubled withall, nor any meddling which he doeth, is to be taken in good part, seeing he doth all in deepe subtilties.

M. B. I doe take it, that the testimonie of the Diuell ought not of it selfe to haue any force with a Iurie, vntill it can be proued by some other firme proofes. But what say you vnto this, a witch is condemned, and telleth at the gallows not onely what she hath done, but also of whom she first had her spirit. She doth this in repentance, and euen ready to depart out of the world. It is to bee presumed that she will not in this case lie, nor accuse falsely: Let it be some woman in another towne, whom she saith, brought her the spirit. This woman is also suspected by some of

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her neighbours, apprehended and brought to iudgement, and stridy denieth that she is any witch, or that she euer deliuered any spirit vnto the other which accused her. Now here is the question: Is not the testimonie of the woman vpon her death, a sufficient warrant for a Iurie to finde this woman guiltie: here they haue now the testimonie not of the Diuell to procede by, but of a woman, and though not vpon her oath, yet vpon her death, which is no lesse.

Dan. This testimonie may seeme to be sufficient euen to warrant a Iurie to finde guiltie, though it touch life: but if we looke well into it, we shall see it is not.

M. B. It may be you take it to be infirme, because it is the testimonie but of one.

Dan. Nay, not onely in respect that it is the testimonie but of one, but that it is the testimonie of such a one.

M. B. I put the case of such an one as doth shew repentance, who though she had been bad, yet now may bee beleeued.

Dan. I doe not meane in that respect, as to say she was a witch, and therefore not to be credited: but if she repent neuer so much, yet her testimonie in this is weak, because she may be vtterly deceiued, and think she telleth the truth, when it was nothing so, but she vtterly deluded.

M. B. Doe you meane, that he may make the other woman thinke, that such a woman deliuered her the spirit, and neuer so much matter?

Dan. Yea, that is my meaning.

M. B. It is farre beyond my reach to see how that can bee.

Dan. You must consider that the diuell both many waies delude witches, and make them beleue things which are nothing so. In Germany and other countries, the diuels haue so deluded the witches, as to make them beleue that they raise tempests of lightnings and thunders. For the diuels doe know when these things be comming, tempests
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of winds, and thunders, & saine would hee make the blinde world belæue that those great works of God, be not Gods but his: And that is the cause why hee coueteth to appeare in them. These Diuels make the witches belæue, that at their request they kill both mē and beasts, and many wales afflicke, when as many of the things fall out naturally, which they would seeme to doe, and the rest in which they haue power giuen to worke, they stirre by the witch but vnder a colour so; to send them. These diuels make the witches in some places belæue, that they are turned into the likeness of wolues, that they rend and teare sheepe, that they meet together and banquet, that sometimes they flie or ride in the ayre, which things indeede are nothing so, but they strongly delude the fantasies of the witches. Euen so the diuell can delude a poore woman with the likeness of another woman deliuering a monse or a cat vnto her, by appearing in such a likeness. Or he can set a strong fantastic in the minde that is oppressed with melancholie, that such or such a matter was, which indeede was neuer so. Men must be wise in these causes, or els may they soone be circumuited by the crafts of Satan and drawne into great sinne.

M. B. If it be thus, then how should a Turke condemne by their verdict any witch? For she hath not killed, nor the deuill at her request, but maketh her belæue he did it at her request.

Dan. A witch by the word of God ought to die the death, not because she killeth men, for that she cannot (vntles it be those witches which kill by poyson, which either they receiue from the diuell, or hee teacheth them to make) but because she dealeth with diuels. And so if a Turke doe finde pꝛoofe that she hath dealt with diuels, they may and ought to finde them guiltie of witchcraft.

M. B. If they finde them guiltie to haue dealt with diuels, and cannot say they haue murdered men, the law doth not put them to death.

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Dan. It were to be wished, that the law were more exact in that respect, even to cut off all such abominations. These cunning men and women which deale with spirittes and charmes seeming to doe good, and draw the people into manifold impieties, with all other which have familiarity with devils, or else contrivations, ought to bee rooted out, that others might see and feare.

M. B. You will not have the testimony of Devils to be of any credit with a Jury, what say you then unto men, there be some which die, and take it upon their death, that they are bewitched, and will say precisely such or such have done it. For that is in the other point touching likelihoods.

Dan. They are bewitched indeed, for the devill both delude their minds: for you shall finde them able to render no reason but onelie this, in their conscience the partie is naught and they are out of doubt it is so.

M. B. What may bee as you say in some, but I have knowne a woman my selfe which many have counted to be a witch, and many things have fallen out where she hath taken displeasure. Do you not think that is a firme proofer? She denieth, but the things which fall out, doe manifest her to be naught.

Dan. You must shew the things, and thereby it will appear.

M. B. She fell out, or els at the least seemed to be displeased with one, and he had an hogge died suddainly. An other thought she was displeased with him, and his horse fell sicke. A third could not sit upon his stoole at worke. And within nine or ten yeares space divers others. One saw the devill bigger than a cat with great eies. An other was haunted with a spirite. An other beweing, the drinke would not worke in the fatte. An other sawe a thing in her house as big as a lambe, playing in the window: Another in her grisious torment saw the woman stand by her all the night, whom she suspected to bewitch her, and divers
such

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such like which were too long to reekē by. If the were not a witch, how should all these fall out so fit :

Dan. I haue shewed already, that where Satan hath a witch to deale by, hee bringeth it about, that in all such things as he hath power giuen him of God, he will seeme to do nothing but requested and sent by the witch. In those things which fall out in sicknesses, lamenes and death, vpon naturall causes, he worketh in such sort, as that he maketh the witch belēue she doeth them. And this he coueteth to haue breake forth by hir confession. Now, where he hath no witch to deale by, he gaineth exceedingly, if he can worke in the minds of any a strong suspicion of any man or woman. For if it bee once begun, he pursueth it with all his power and cunning. If one be visited with grievous torment of sickness, and be so ignorant, and voyde of the faith in Gods providence, that he imagine the diuell doeth it at the sending by a witch, the diuell will delude him, and make him belēue that the witch standeth by him. The man or woman suspected cannot come there : Who then worketh that illusion but Satan? Another is affraid of the deuill to be sent vnto him, by that partie whom he suspecteth to be a witch: and thus through want of faith in God, giueth the deuill the more power ouer him, either to hurt, or to appeare vnto him. For Satan haunteth all men continually, seeking all occasions, and needeth not to be sent by man or woman. They be exceedingly blind which will reason thus, an euill spirit came and appeared vnto me, after I had angred such a woman, therefore she sent him. Satan if he haue power to doe harme, or knowe where somewhat will follo, is he not cunning to make the partie which shall receiue the harme, to fall out with some that he may suspect, and so the harme may seeme to come from that partie : Againe, in feare, in the darke men take some little cat or dog to be an vgly deuill. As not long since a rugged water Spannell hauing a chaine, came to a mans doore

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that had a faunt Bitch, and some elpied him in the darke, and said it was a thing as bigge as a Colt, and had eyes as great as saucers. Whereupon some came to charge to him, and did charge him in the name of the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, to tell what he was. The dogge at the last told them, for he spake in his language, & said, bowgh, and thereby they did know what he was. If hee doe know where harmes doe follow vpon naturall causes in men or beasts, hee laboureth either to make them offended, and to fall out with the partie that is suspected, or at the least to perswade the of such displeasure conceiued, that the harmes may seeme to come from the same. If he do torment indeede hauing power to possesse the bodie, hee will not sticke to lie, and to say such a woman sent him.

M. B. And doth it not fall out sometimes, that as hee saith such a woman sent him, so the woman vpon examination coeffereth so much.

Dan. Yea, but I speak where he hath no witch to deale by, but pursueth the innocent with suspition vpon suspition, that men may bee guiltie of innocent blood. Hee telleth the truth sometimes, to the end he may be credited when he doth lie. For let no man be so simple as to thinke, that he will euer tell truth but for some wicked purpose.

M. B. Yet this of all the rest seemeth most strange vnto me, how so many things should fall out, as it seemeth, after the displeasure of a suspected person, and some of them such as apparantly are done by Satan, as in drinke not working, or in cream, when butter will not come, and yet the partie suspected is not a witch.

Dan. O sir, the sleights of Satan in compassing such matters bee maruellous. I know it is taken (as they say) to bee dead sure that the partie is a witch, if sundrie such thewes of matters doe concurre. But how easie a thing is it for craftie diuels to compasse such matters?

M. B. Then you doe not thinke that common fame

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is sufficient to warrant the conscience of the Juror, to condemne any.

Dan. Experience doth teach how headie much people are in iudging men or women to bee witches vpon euery surmise. And the power imagined to be in witches, which breedeth a feare in many, causeth them to bee credulous. Many goe so farre, that if they can intice childzen to accuse their parents, they thinke it a good worke.

M. B. You say the testimonie of the diuell is not to bee taken, although it be manifest that he doth many times tell the truth, because when he speaketh the truth, he doth it of a bad purpose. And you hold it the testimonie of the diuell, not onely which he speaketh when any charge him, but also which the cunning men and women giue, in as much as they can say nothing but vpon his word. Whereouer, vnles I mistake you, the testimony of a witch in many things at her death, is not (as you say) any other then the testimonie of the diuell, because the diuell hath deceiued her, and made her beleue things which were nothing so. Besides alth's, you wil haue likelihoods and suspitions to be of no waight, nor common fame and opinion to moue the conscience of a Iurie, because Sathan is exceeding subtil in all these. Then how shall a Iurie finde a witch? What proofes will you haue?

Dan. Men are vpon their oath to deale, & it doth touch life, if they doe finde any guiltie of witchcraft. This is a most waightie matter: whereupon it followeth, that there must be either due proofe by sufficient witnesses, or els the confession of the witch. For if the testimony be such as may be false, as all that cometh from diuels is to be suspected: or if it be but vpon rumors, and likelihoods, in which there may be exceeding sleights of Sathan, as for the most part there be: how can that Iurie answer before God, which vpon their oath are not sure, but that so proceeding they may condemne the innocent, as often it cometh to passe.

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M. B. You mistake one point, for the finding of a witch guilty by a Jury doeth not in all causes touch blood.

Dan. I am not deceived, for where the Jurie having but likelihoods doth find a man or a woman guilty but for killing a beast, it casteth them into prison, setteth them by on the pillorie, and not only diffameth them for ever, but also if suspicion follow againe and arraignment, it is death; you see then how nere a way they have made unto blood. But if it touch not blood, but the party escape with the imprisonment and pillory, & neuer againe fall into suspicion, how grievous an infamie is it, to have been condemned by Jury to be a witch: I speake it where it is onely vpon suspicion, or such testimonie as is onely from Satan, and the partie may be cleere.

M. B. It falleth out sometimes that vpon suspicion and common fame they hitte right, and the partie which would not confesse any witchery vpon examination, and arraignment, being condemned doth confesse it.

Dan. Let it be graunted that the Jury vpon Satans testimonie, or suspicions and common fame, sometimes hitteth right, which yet I feare is very seldome, that is no warrant befoze God for men that are swozne, for are they swozne to indit vpon likelihoods, or vpon knowledge in y^e which vpon sound testimonie or confession they shall finde: If the party be a witch which is suspected, & yet no p^{ro}ofe, the Jury doeth moze rightly in acquitting, than in condemning, for what warrant haue they vpon their oath to goe by gesse, or to find that which they knowe not?

M. B. I doe take it men offend grievously, if vpon vn-sufficient p^{ro}ofe they condemne the innocent, and especial-ly, because they are solemnly swozne: but if they hit right, though it be only by coniectures and likelihoods, I cannot see how they should therein offend: they condemne not the innocent, they doe the party no wrong.

Dan. I doe not say they are to bee charged with any in-
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nocent blood, or wrong to the partie: but I aske what warrant they haue befoze God vpon oath to touch blood by suspitions. Admit one be arraigned vpon felony, the likelihoods are great that he is guiltie of the same, but yet it may be he is cleere. What is a Iurie nowe to do: Are they to venture vpon the life of a man by their oath by suspitions: Let it be he is one that God knoweth to bee guiltie, but no man can disclose the same, and therefore they cleare him, doe they commit anie offence: Are they bound to find that which they cannot know: What innocent person then may not be condemned:

Sam. I pray you giue me leaue a little. I do not well conceiue this matter about finding out and condemning of witches. It is somewhat strange vnto me which you speak: I haue my selfe sundry times beene of the Iurie when witches haue beene arraigned, we haue found them guilty vpon common fame, vpon likelihoods, and vpon such testimony as you disallow. They haue indeed taken it vpon their deaths that they were innocent, but that neuer made me to doubt but that they were witches: so it is sayde, the deuill hath such power ouer them, that he will not suffer them to confesse.

Dan. What should moue you to thinke that the deuill will not haue them to confesse: you see some doe confesse when they be examined, and when they be executed: The deuill hath power ouer the most desperat theeues and murderers?

Sam. Yea but he careth not so much though the theeues and the murderers doe confesse, it maketh not so much against him, as when witches bewray all.

Dan. What, doe you take it hee is loath to be dis famed or hardly thought off: Otherwise what should it make against him when witches confesse: It is some step to repentance when theeues and murderers acknowledge their sinnes, and if he can hinder them, or holde them del-

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perate from confessing he will. It is apparant that hee co-
ueteth to haue witches to confesse, it maketh so much for
him. He would haue men iudge that there be an hundred
folde moze witches then there be. He discloseth by his cun-
ning men & women, and other wise. He coueteth greatly to
haue it thought that hee doth all, in tempests, in straunge
plagues and diseases which light vpon man or beast. And
for this cause hee maketh the witch beleue and confesse
moze then all, that is, that at her request he did that which
he neuer did nor could doe: vnlesse we will denie the soue-
raintie and prouidence of God ouer all.

Sam, If Satam gaine so much by disclosing them, what
should be the reason that men are generally perswaded,
that he coueteth to haue the things kept secret, and so will
not let the witch confesse.

Dan. It ariseth from false perswasions, and from a false
feare that witches doe so many harmes, and that at their
sending and request the spirits worke all. If Satban be so
kind and seruiceable to the witch: how is it that he doth not
fetch her some money: for hee knoweth where it is lost, or
where it lieth in mens houses. Hee telleth the witch he can
make a man lame. Hee saith hee can kill an horse. Yea at
sometime he will say he can and will (if she will haue it so)
kill a man. As if it were in his power to doe many great
things, and will not but requested. Let vs see if all the di-
uels can fetch one penny out of a mans house whose horse or
Cow they say they haue killed. The coniurer, saith he, can
coniuere him into a man, or out of a man: let him coniuere
him but into a mans chest if he can, to fetch somewhat from
thence. If the diuels cannot doe these things, then bee as-
sured that either they make but a shew of killing and laming,
as they do in the most of such harmes, or else where they do
hurt, it is vpon speciall leaue from God, and not from the
witches pleasure. And to what purpose then should all such
ingglings and shewes serue, if they should be kept close and
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not confessed.

Sam. Yet for my better satisfaction giue me leave without offence to lay open some particulars which I haue seen. I was of a Furie not many yeares past, when there was an old woman arraigned for a witch. There came in eight or ten which gaue euidence against her. I doe not remember euery particular: but the chiefe for some things were of small value. One woman came in and testified vpon her oath, that her husband vpon his death-bed, took it vpon his death, that he was bewitched, for he pined a long time. And hee sayd further, hee was sure that woman had bewitched him. We took her to be naught, and thought she was angry with him, because she would haue borrowed five Shillings of him, and he denied to lend it her. The woman tooke her oath also, that she thought in her conscience that the old woman was a witch, and that she killed her husband. There came in a man that halced, he tolde a shrewd tale. I once, sayd he, had both my legges sound. This old woman and I fell out and did chide. She sayd she would be even with me. Within thre daies alter I had such a paine in my knee that I could not stand. And euer since I goe hauiting of it, and now and then feele some paine. There came in another, a little fellow that was very earnest, me thinks I see him yet. He took his oath directly that she was a witch: I did once anger her (sayd he) but I did repent me: for I looked somewhat would follow. And the next night I saw the ugliest sight that euer I saw: I awaked suddenly out of my sleepe, and there was me thought a great face, as bigge as they vse to set vp in the signe of the Saracens head, looked full in my face. I was scarce mine owne man two dayes after. Another came in, a woman, and her child dyed with grieuous paine, & she took her oath, that in her conscience she killed her childe. Then followed a man, and he sayd hee could not tell, but he thought she was once angry with him because she came to begge a few pot-herbes, and he denied

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her : and presently after he heard a thing as he thought to whisper in his eare, thou shalt be bewitched. The next day he had such a paine in his backe, & he could not sit vp: right: he said hee sent to a cunning woman, she tolde hee was bewitched, and by a woman that came for pot-herbes. But she said he should recour of it, and so he said hee did within some tenne daies. Then came in two or three graue honest men, which testified that she was by common fame accounted a witch. They found her guiltie, for what could we doe lesse, she was condemned and executed : and vpon the ladder she made her prayer, and took it vpon her death she was innocent and free from all such dealings. Do you think we did not well :

Dan. Nay, what thinke you ? Are you sure she was a witch : Nay it not be she was innocent, and you vpon your oathes shed innocent blood :

Sam. If she were innocent what could we doe lesse : we went according to the euidence of such as were sworn, they swore that they in their conscience took her to bee a witch, and that she did those things.

Dan. If other take their oath that in their conscience they think so, is that sufficient to warrant men vpon mine oath to say it is so :

Sam. Nay, but you see what matters they brought, which perswaded them to thinke so.

Dan. Might not both you and they be deceiued in your thinking, or may you vpon matters which may induce you to thinke so present vpon your oath that you know it is so :

Sam. If witnesses come in and sweare falsely, the Jury proceeding according, their testimony is cleare from blame, for they goe but by testimonie of men sworn.

Dan. If witnesses doe sweare directly that in their knowledge a matter was so or so, and sweare falsely, the Iurie is cleare which proceedeth according to their euidence:
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vnlesse the Iurie do perceiue that their oath cannot be true. But what is that to make the testimonie sufficient wher men doe but thinke, and can shew no necessarie reason to ground their thought vpon? As let vs see in al these which one could proue that she must needs be a witch. One saith her husband tooke it vpon his death that she killed him, because hee would not lend her five shillings: doth this proue she bewitched him? Can the diuell kill a marrat his pleasure, to gratifie the witch? Is it not rather to be iudged he dyed of some pining sicknesse growing from an euill constitution of bodie, which the diuel did know, and would set him at some variance with one old woman or other, that so it might breed suspicion of witchcraft?

Sam. You see there were some things which could not be done but by the diuell.

Dan. Indeede the great face which the man thought he saw, was the illusion of the diuell. But is this a good proue, the diuel appeareth to a man after he hath displeased a woman, therefore she sent him? Doth not Sathan haunt all men continually, & would if he could get leaue from God, terrifie them with such illusions? when men are afraid, and haue strong imaginations. What reason did the woman shew which tooke it vpon her conscience that the old woman killed her childe, to proue that it was so? If she thought so in her conscience, and tenne thousand more with her vpon bare imagination, was that a warrant for you to sweare solemnely that it was so? As for the testimonie of the cunning woman that he was bewitched which had the paine in his backe, vpon the deniall of pot-hearbes, it was the testimonie but of the diuell, as I shewed before. And what is common same grounded vpon imaginations?

Sam. When you thinke we did amisse doe you?

Dan. I would not vpon mine oath doe such a thing for to gaine a kingdome.

Sam. It may be she was a witch, although she toke it

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upon her death that she was not.

Dan. It is rather to be thought she was not a witch: for what should make her denie it upon her death? The diuell had accused her to be a witch, for no direct testimony against her but his.

Sam. You say it was the diuell that told by the cunning woman that she was a witch.

Dan. And doe you thinke it was any other but Satan:

Sam. I did not at that time thinke it was the diuell: but now I see it could be none other.

Dan. When he wiser hereafter, and soze for that which you haue done.

Sam. Indeed I haue cause to be grieved if she were not a witch.

Dan. If she were a witch your warrant was small: but she being no witch, you haue taken away both her life, and covered her with infamie.

Sam. I was of another Furie since, and there was a woman indicted for a witch, but not for killing any man or child. There came in five or sixe against her: the first was an old woman, and she sayd she had displeased her, as she thought, and within two or three nights after as she late by her fire, there was a thing like a toad, or like some little crabbe fish which did creepe upon the hARTH, she toke a bee-some & swept it away, and suddenly her bodie was griped. Another sel out with her, as she said, and her hennies began to die vp, untill she burnt one hen aliue. A third man came in, and he said she was once angrie with him, he had a dun colw which was tyed vp in a house, for it was in winter, he feared that some euil would follow, and for his life he could not come in where she was, but he must needs take vp her table and kisse vnder it. Two or three other came in & said she was by common fame accounted a witch. They found her guiltie, and she was condemned to prison, and to the pillorie, but Good Wisse in it that she was no witch.

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Dan. And are you sure she was one ?

Sam. I thinke verily shee was one, although there bee many of her neighbors which thinke she is none : so; how could those thinges folloꝝe so vpon her anger ? It seemeth they were all done by the deuill.

Dan. Hee is cunning that can tell that : let it be that it was the deuill which appeared to the old womā like a toad, or like a crabbe fish, and that hee did gripe her bodie : doth it folloꝝe therefore of necessitie that the other woman sent him ? He can not turne him selfe into any likeness vnlesse God giue him leaue, as he doth in iustice, permit that so he may delude ignorant persons. No witch can giue him power to appeare vnto any in a visible shape. He had this granted him from God, and Satan by and by will set anger, and then appeare, that it might seeme it grew from that.

Sam. Wee see hee appeareth vnto witches, and confurers.

Dan. Yea but wee may not thinke hee can at his pleasure take a likeness so; to appeare in. That he doth appeare vnto witches and confurers, it is granted in Gods wrath, to the ende he may strongly delude such wicked people as will not heare and obey the voyce of the Lord God. For the deuils are chained by Gods most mightie power & prouidence, and in all thinges so farre as he letteth forth their chaine, so farre they proceede, one inch further they can not proceede. Where men loue darkenes more then light, hee hath leaue giuen him to do many thinges. Some he terrifieth with ugly shapes, some he intiseth with faire shewes: others he playeth withall in likeness of a Weasell, or Mouse, or some such small vermine.

Sam. I thought Satan could appeare in what likeness he would, and to whom he would, if the witch sent him.

Dan. Wherein you were much deceiued : so; the sending by the witch can giue him no power, and if hee had power, he would no doubt in all places appeare vnto many as far

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and in such sort, as should best serue his turne. Therefore if he appeare vnto any man, let him thinke God hath giuen him leaue to goe thus farre with mee, and let him call for faith to resist him, and for true wisdom that he may not be deceiued nor deluded by him.

Sam. But doth hee not appeare sometimes when the witches send him?

Dan. Where he findeth it is graunted vnto him for to appeare, he moueth witches to send him, if he haue any to deale by: but if there be none, yet will he appeare, & deale so farre as he hath power giuen him.

Sam. But what say you to the womans hens?

Dan. What should one say to them when they be dead.

Sam. I meane doe you not thinke they were bewitched?

Dan. Christ saith, a Sparrow cannot fall without the will of your heauenly Father: and is not a henne as good as a Sparrow?

Sam. Nay I am fully perswaded by that which you haue sayd, that the diuell cannot touch any thing to kill or to hurt it, but vpon speciall leaue from God. They can giue him no power, he thinketh he setteth him on, and it is hee that setteth her on worke. Let these things be no more called into question: but was it not euident that the diuell killed those hennes: because after the burning of one henne, the woman had no more that died. If Satan did it not, how could they cease dying for that? You sayd that he where he hath power to hurt in such bodily harmes, is willing to cease, that such wickednesse may be practised. And then if this hurt were done by the diuell, is it not to be thought that the woman was a witch, seeing it followed after she was angrie? Let it be that Satan hauing power to do that he did, would be sent by the witch for a colour, and to make it euident did set anger between her and that other woman, to make men thinke that he would not deale, but intreated
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by her being angrie. And so we could doe no lesse but finde her a witch.

Dan. These be weake foundations to set such a weightie building vpon. For first it is not certaine that the diuell killed those hens. Might it not be they had some infection which he did know would kill them, and he craftily bringeth the matter about, maketh two women fall out (which is the easiest matter of an hundred) euen vpon the dying of the hennes, that so it might seeme they were bewitched. But you say then, how could it be that vpon the burning of an henne, there dyed no more, if the Diuell did not kill them: Nay how can you tell but that there should no more haue dyed, although the liue henne had not been burned: What if hee saw there should no more dye, and thereupon moued the heart of that woman to vse that witchcraft in burning a henne, that it might seeme that was a present remedie to dye away diuels: Or put case he had the power to kill the womans hens, either he is a weake killer, or els he goeth to his work but lazily. He could kill a great heard of swine quickly when Christ gaue him leaue: could he not if the woman had five thousand hens, haue killed them all at once: Why did the fowle then but nibble killing now one and then one, and so was scared away before hee had killed all: If he had power before the henne was burnt for to kill, why did hee not then when they went about to burne an henne kill the rest: It may be he did not know what they went about, he was laid soft in his pot of woll: and coming to kill another henne, he was met withall, he smelt the roastmeat, and was scared.

Sam. Then you thinke he did not kill those hennes.

Dan. What certaintie had you that hee did kill them: You sound it vpon your oath that he killed them, and that such a woman sent him and set him a worke, and yet it is an hundred to one hee neuer had power for to touch them.

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Sam. But what can you say to the other: The man which could not chuse but kisse vnder his cowes tale?

Dan. I say he was farre in loue with his cow. Let such men learne to know God, & to expell fantasies out of their mindes that the deuill may not haue such power over them, for he worketh in the fantasies of mans mind, and the more strongly where they feare him, as it appeareth this man did. Satan did worke in this mans minde many foolish imaginations, and to make him beleue he was bewitched he maketh him fall out with one that may bee suspected. And thus you Iurie men take your oath & condemne many innocent persons, because you beleue the deuill, & imagine that witches do that which they can not do.

M. B. I haue heard of many that haue bene condemned for witches which haue taken it vpon their death that they were innocent. And sundry of the haue had farre weaker proofes brought against them then these that haue bin mentioned.

Dan. Yea that is it which I say, men do so little consider the high soueraignty and prouidence of God over all things: they ascribe so much to the power of the deuill and to the anger of witches, and are in such feare of them, that the least shew that can be made by the sleights of Satan deceiue them. The only way for men that will eschew the snares & subtilties of the deuill and all harmes by him, is this, euen to heare the voyce of God, to be taught of him by his liuely word which is full of pure light to discover & expel the darke mists of Satan, in which he leadeth men out of the way: and to be armed with faith to resist him, as the holy Apostle S. Peter willet, so such as doe forsake this way are seduced into grosse errors & into many abominable sinnes, which carrie men to destruction. I must now bidde you farewell.

M. B. I could bee content to heare more in these matters, I see how fondly I haue erred. But seeing you must
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be gone, I hope we shall meete here againe at some other time, God keepe you.

Sam. I am bound to giue you great thanks. And I pray you when occasion serueth, that you come this way, let vs see you at my house.

M. B. I thought there had not been such subtil practises of the diuell, nor so great sinnes as he leadeth men into.

Sam. It is strange to see how many thousands are carried awy and deceiued, yea many that are very wise men.

M. B. The diuell is too craftie for the wisest, vnlesse they haue the light of Gods word.

The wife of Sam. Husband ponder communeth the good wife R.

Sam. I would she had come sooner.

The good wife R. Ho, who is within, by your leaue.

The wife of Sam. I would you had come a little sooner, here was one euen now that said you are a witch.

The good wife R. Was there one said I am a witch? you doe but tell.

The wife of Sam. Nay I promise you hee was in good earnest.

The good wife R. I a witch? I desire him that saith it, though he be a Lord. I would all the witches in the land were hanged, and their spirits by them.

M. B. Would not you be glad if their spirits were hanged by with them to haue a good one furred with some of their skinner?

The good wife R. Out vpon them, there were surre.

Sam. Wife, why diddest thou say that hee said the good wife R. is a witch? he did not say so.

The wife of Sam. Husband I did marke his words well enough, he said she is a witch.

Sam. He doth not know her, and how could he say she is a witch?

The wife of Sam. What though he did not know her? did hee not say she played the witch that het the spit red

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hot, and thrust it into her creame, when the butter would not come?

Sam. Indeede wife, thou saist true, he said that was a thing taught by the diuell, as also the burning of an henne, or of an hogge alive, and all such like deuices.

The good wife R. Is that witchcraft? Some scripture man hath tolde you so. Did the diuell teach it? Nay the good woman at R. H. taught it my husband: she doth moze good in one yere then all these scripture men will doe so long as they liue.

M. B. Who doe you thinke taught it the cunning woman at R. H.

The good wife R. It is a gift which God hath giuen her, I thinke the holy spirit of God doth teach her.

M. B. You doe not think then that the diuell doth teach her?

The good wife R. How should I thinke that the diuell doth teach her? Did you euer heare that the diuell did teach any good thing?

M. B. Doe you know that was a good thing?

The good wife R. Was it not a good thing to driue the euill spirit out of my creame?

M. B. Do you thinke the diuell was afraid of your spit?

The good wife R. I know he was driuen away, and we haue ben rid of him euer since.

M. B. Can a spit hurt him?

The good wife R. It doth hurt him, or it hurteth the witch: One of them I am sure: for he commeth no moze. Either she can get him come no moze, because it hurteth him: or els she will let him come no moze, because it hurteth her.

M. B. It is certaine that spirits cannot be hurt but with spirituall weapons: therefore your spit cannot fray nor hurt the diuell. And how can it hurt the witch, you did not thinke she was in your creame, did you?

The good wife R. Some thinke she is there, and therefore, when they thrust in the spit they say: If thou beest here

witches and witchcrafts.

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here haue at thine eye.

M. B. If she were in your creame, your butter was not very cleanly.

The good wife R. You are merrily disposed M. B. I know you are of my mind, though you put these questions to me. For I am sure none hath counselled more to goe to the cunning folke then you.

M. B. I was of your minde, but I am not now, for I see how foolish I was. I am soie that ener I offended so grievously as to counsaile any for to seeke vnto diuels.

The good wife R. Why, M. B. who hath schooled you to day? I am sure you were of another mind no longer agone then yester day.

The wife of Sam. Truly good wife R. I thinke my husband is turned also: here hath been one reasoning with them this of foure houres.

The good wife R. Is your husband turned to? I would you might lose all your hens one after another, and then I would she would set her spirit vpon your Ducks and your Geese, and leaue you not one alive. Will you come to defend witches?

M. B. We doe not defend witches.

The good wife R. Yes, yes, there be too many that take their part, I would they might witch some of the euen into hell, to teach others to defend them. And you M. B. I would your nagge might hault a little one of these daies: see whether you would not be glad to seeke helpe.

M. B. I would seeke helpe, I would carrie him to the Smith to search if he were not pitched of grauel.

The good wife R. Tush you laugh: If you were plagued as some are, you would not make so light account of it.

M. B. You thinke the diuell can kill mens cattell, and lame both man and beast at his pleasure: you thinke if the witch intreate him and send him he will goe, and if she will not haue him go, he will not meddle. And you thinke when he doth come, you can dꝛiue him away with an hot spitte,

A Dialogue concerning

oꝝ wltth burning a lue henne oꝝ a pigge.

The good wife R. *Shewer tell me I thinke so, soꝝ you your selfe haue thought so: and let them say what they can, all the Scripture men in the world shall neuer perswade me other wise.*

M. B. *I doe wonder, not so much at your ignorance as at this, that I was euen of the same minde that you are, and could not see mine owne follie.*

The good wife R. *Follie: how wisse you are become of a sudden: I know that their spirits lie lurking, soꝝ they foster them: and when any bodie hath angered them, then they call them forth and send them. And looke what they bid them do, oꝝ hire them to do, that shall be done: as when she is angrie, the spirit will aske her what shall I doe: such a man hath mistreated me saith she, goe kill his Cow, by and by he goeth & doth it. So kill such a womans hens, do some goe they. And some of the are not content to do these lesser harmes, but they will say, goe make such a man lame, kill him, oꝝ kill his child. When are they ready and will doe any thing: and I thinke they be happy that can learne to dye them away.*

M. B. *If I should reason with you out of the woꝝde of God, you should see that al this is false which you say. The deuill cannot kill nor hurt anything, no not so much as a poore henne. If he had power who can escape him? Would he carrie to be sent oꝝ intreated by a woman he is a stirrer vp vnto al harmes and mischiefs.*

The good wife R. *What tell you me of Gods woꝝde: doth not Gods woꝝde say there be witches, and doe not you thinke God doth suffer bad people? Are you a turne coate? Fare you well, I will talke no longer with you.*

M. B. *She is wisfull indeede. I will leaue you also.*

Sam. *I thanke you soꝝ your good companie.*

FINIS.

